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DECOLONIZATION OF CREOLE-SPEAKING NATIONS ANALYZED

Paris POLITIQUE AFRICAINE in French Jun 83 pp 78-96

[Article by J. Houbert: "Decolonization in Creole-Speaking Nations: Mauritius and Reunion"*]

[Text] In the Mascarene Islands, colonization assumed original forms very different from those in other islands in the region. While in Madagascar and the Comoro Islands the colonial history was superimposed on an autochthonous history, Mauritius and Reunion experienced only the European colonization. On the other islands, the mode of capitalist production had to be articulated around precapitalist modes, both strengthening and replacing them, while in the Mascarenes, capitalism took root in a virgin land. The economy, society, politics and even the fauna and flora of the Mascarenes are to a large extent the direct result of colonization. But the Mascarenes are not thereby settlement colonies like Quebec or New England. Creole societies¹ emerging from the plantation slave system, they have never been homogeneous societies of free European farmers. What then does "decolonization" mean in such colonies?

Decolonization has generally been the result of a policy of the colonial powers as well as a process resulting from a new ratio of forces in the international system following World War II. Since colonialism had established fairly solid bases for a modern administration and a semblance of a bourgeoisie, it was essentially a matter of transforming the international status of the colonies quite rapidly in order to defuse nationalism and ward off its possible shift toward socialism. Furthermore, the colonial powers had hoped that decolonization would encourage the economic development of the Third World countries, which would keep them in the Western camp. But in Mauritius and Reunion, colonization was not superimposed on autochthonous societies; it was at the root of the formation of a Creole society. Decolonization of the two islands could not therefore bring about a mere modification in their international status. Rather, it was to go much deeper and bring the very structures of society into question.

Two Types of Decolonization

The type of decolonization adopted was therefore to be of crucial importance for the future. In the Mascarenes -- and this is what makes the comparative study particularly interesting -- there was not one, but two types of decolonization, representing very distinct traditions. Great Britain encouraged the

rise in Mauritius of a new state bourgeoisie, one relatively Anglicized and emerging from the "committed" Indians, and established an administrative organization over a dependent capitalist economy, which subsequently acceded to international sovereignty under the patronage of the colonial power. For its part, France chose for Reunion the formula of decolonization by departmentalization which, instead of guiding the colony toward international sovereignty, integrated it into the republic while extending to it the political and social institutions of the mother country. The goal sought was not the equality of groups in international society -- Reunion on the one hand and France on the other -- but the equality of individuals, citizens of the same republic. The Reunionese were thus decolonized to the extent that they became "full Frenchmen." How and to what extent were the Creole societies transformed by these two decolonization policies? Are the Mauritians "more decolonized" today than the Reunionese? Is the status of Mauritius more favorable to development than that of Reunion?

It is not possible within the framework of this article to dwell on the history and geography of the islands.² We shall confine ourselves to emphasizing that, except for two brief English occupations, Reunion has been French only since 1642, while Mauritius was Dutch and mainly French, before being occupied by the English since 1810. Furthermore, the wave of Indian immigrants in the 19th century was much larger in Mauritius than in Reunion, where the settlement of European origin was more important. Finally, geography has been much more generous toward Mauritius than its sister island. Although the two territories are isolated in the middle of the ocean, the "insular trap" was never as complete for Mauritius as it was for Reunion. With easier access, Mauritius has always been more open to the world.³ Very early, the presence of English civil servants gave the Mauritians other interlocutors than just the island planters. The rivalry between the latter and the British administration made the colonial dictatorship less total in Mauritius than in Reunion.

In both territories, decolonization came from the outside more than from within the Creole societies themselves. It was the European mother countries which, in terms of interests and ideologies far transcending the islands, imposed decolonization on the Creole officials. The latter in no way wanted to change the colonial status of the islands, much less see their social structures transformed. Far from waging national liberation struggles, the "plantocratic" bourgeoisies clung to the colonial status quo, the guarantee of their privileges and ideology. Thus, in Reunion, the plantocracy, seeing the danger from integration into the mother country, opposed departmentalization, while in Mauritius, the struggle of the "haves" against independence led them to do everything possible -- however futilely -- to integrate the island with the colonial power.

And yet, these plantocratic bourgeoisies have always been identified with the islands. In Mauritius especially, the plantocracy has always seen itself as Mauritian, for, unlike in Reunion, where the ruling class had always been identified with the island and France, there was a veritable cultural and emotional gap between the Creole bourgeoisie of Mauritius and the British mother country. After the conquest, the English civil servants and planters objectively became partners in the colonial exploitation. This pact between

the two factions of the colonial bourgeoisie was not without hitches, however, and from time to time, a certain French-Mauritian nationalism seemed to be awakened among the planters and penetrate the other strata of the Creole society. Nevertheless, these remnants could never go very far because the interests of the plantocracy were too well served by the British Empire. As for the petty bourgeoisie of the "colored people," which vied with the planter class in Francophilia, it could not allow itself to be too anti-British because it had many lower-level government employees in its ranks.

The island bourgeoisies were not thereby "compradores" in the sense in which that term has been used to designate a class of middlemen serving the interests of the metropolitan bourgeoisies. The plantocracies were ruling classes totally capable of extracting and accumulating the capital on the islands. The Mauritian plantocracy in particular pushed the development of the island to the limits imposed by geography and the structure of the sugar industry. If it was unable to turn into a true national bourgeoisie, it was mainly because of the overdevelopment of the sugar industry and that product's dependency on the foreign market. In fact, assured of markets in the British Empire, the plantocracy had no interest in increasing the purchasing power and technical training of the sugar proletariat. On the contrary, keeping wages low increased profits. In its turn, the limited nature of the domestic market discouraged the diversification of production and maintained the preponderance of the sugar industry. British civil servants were very happy with the state of affairs. Sugar provided substantial income and did not compete with products from the mother country. As long as growth continued with an expanding foreign market, the plantocracy invested in sugar, but once the limits of their industry had been reached, sugar growers began to export the surplus produced by the plantation economy in the form of investments abroad, instead of encouraging domestic investments through a diversification of production that would have reduced their own preponderance.

But while the mother countries imposed decolonization on the plantocracies, "leftist forces" in Mauritius and Reunion tried to take advantage of it, not in order to separate from the colonial powers but rather, in order to use them so as to transform the power structure on the islands. In Mauritius, the state bourgeoisie, which called itself "leftist," far from desiring to remain at a distance from the English to whom it owed everything, rallied to the formula of decolonization chosen by Great Britain because that policy brought it to power. In Reunion, on the other hand, the left initially believed that, within the new postwar context, departmentalization would be the best way to put an end to poverty and social exploitation. "The admission of Reunion to the French Republic enraged some reactionaries, who wept over the abolition of their 20th-century privileges stemming from slavery."⁴ Actually, the Reunionese plantocracy one time feared departmentalization. "Assimilation is a criminal heresy," said one bulletin from the Association of Rights and Interests of Reunion, "that would lead us to spiritual bankruptcy and ruin."⁵ However, both in Mauritius and Reunion, rightist forces very quickly succeeded in taking over decolonization to their advantage.

Nevertheless, there is more than one nuance between the two cases. In fact, in Mauritius, decolonization was much more "leftist" in the rhetoric of leaders

than it was in substance and in that way, the case of Mauritius joins most recently independent countries, whose decolonization was "well planned." The state bourgeoisie was long trained to take over from the colonial power without upsetting the structures of the Creole society and its foreign ties. The new rulers thus replaced the English in the role of partner of the plantocracy, sharing power with it in the new government. In Reunion, on the other hand, decolonization brought about much deeper changes in the Creole society for it presumed integration in an advanced industrial state. At the end of the colonial regime, the class fraction that could "normally" aim to fulfill the role of state bourgeoisie with no access to power locally turned toward socialism and the mother country and became a progressive left, capable of mobilizing the working class in the fight against the plantocracy. The alliance of this left with the French Government could only last as long as the participation in government of the progressive forces in the mother country. The cold war in Europe and the isolation of communists in politics in the mother country changed the meaning of departmentalization, shifting it to the right, making it both the ally and the gravedigger of the plantocracy. In turn, that evolution helped keep the left more in force in Reunion than in the mother country and thereby ruined any possibility of modifying the constitutional status of the island. With a strong Communist Party, disappointed by departmentalization and opting for "a democratic people's autonomy," not only the plantocrats but all "nationals" are now afraid of a change that might lead to independence. While decolonization may have given the right a new start, the latter is no longer represented by the old Creole hierarchy, whose bases have been eroded, but by interests and social strata created by departmentalization itself. For them, independence would not only mean loss of the European standard of living, totally impossible to maintain without massive transfers from the mother country, but subservience to Moscow as well. Actually, given the absence of a state bourgeoisie ready to take over and considering the strength of the Communist left in Reunion, the bourgeoisie has good reasons to believe that independence would not be neocolonial, as in Mauritius, but would bring in a people's democracy that would not avoid dependency vis-a-vis the USSR. Recent geostrategic developments in the Indian Ocean make any modification of Reunion's status even more problematical.

And yet, the question of status remains posed, not only because departmentalization appears nowadays to be more and more of an anomaly, but because the Reunionese people themselves resent the artificial nature of their status, not because Reunion is not decolonized, but precisely because departmentalization totally upset the Creole society, without succeeding in replacing it with a developed capitalism like that of France. Despite the consensus on the need to keep ties with the mother country and despite the pacifying speeches of French politicians, the insular society is prey to a profound uncertainty.⁶ It is significant that the change in majority and the overthrow of forces within the left in the mother country brought about no proposal to change the status of Reunion. The decentralization program of the new government is content to foresee the election of a single assembly with proportional representation. But even that very moderate reform was enough to unleash the protests of "nationals."⁷ In Mauritius, on the other hand, while decolonization upset Creole society less, the status of the island is no longer in question. All Mauritians now accept independence, even if the new left, born of the

disappointments over neocolonial decolonization and represented by the Mauritian Militant Movement (MMM), would like to carry it further. That left, founded on the same structures and subject to the same limitations as the current regime, is much more moderate than that of Reunion. The changes which the MMM recommends may perfectly well come within the system set up with decolonization. It would therefore appear that access to international sovereignty succeeded better in rallying Mauritians to the new status of their island than departmentalization was able to do in Reunion. Independence gave Mauritians an identity that feeds the national ideology, an indispensable factor of integration in capitalist societies lacking in Reunion.

Dependence and Development

The economic, political and cultural dependency of the islands on Europe survived both formulas of decolonization adopted. The international sovereignty acquired by Mauritius has permitted a diversification of that dependency. Along with the alliance between political and economic power on the island, this opens up definite possibilities of development within the capitalist world. During the colonial period, the entire economy of Mauritius was based on the sugar market guaranteed by Great Britain in the Commonwealth Accords and it is one of the main reasons making the plantocracy oppose independence. On the one hand, the planters feared that the new state bourgeoisie might try, in one way or another, to intervene in the sugar industry and hinder its smooth operation. On the other hand, they feared that the entry of Great Britain into the Common Market might put an end to the guaranteed sugar market. Taking the status of Reunion as a model, Mauritian conservatives demanded the integration of the island into the United Kingdom in order to maintain that guarantee for their production. The English, however, having established the foundations of a neocolonial state, were in a hurry to leave a territory in which the Creole hierarchy had always considered them as foreigners. What is more, London was convinced that a neocolonial state was the best way to ensure the continuation of the domestic structures and the island's foreign relations.

Actually, the new state bourgeoisie itself had substantial interests in the sugar industry and it needed the income that that industry supplied. Ramgoolam had already stated before independence that sugar was the "vital fluid" of Mauritius and that the island would continue after independence to produce the maximum amount of sugar. Far from neglecting that market, the state bourgeoisie tried to obtain even more favorable conditions to market production abroad.

Indeed, the sale of sugar, which had structured colonial Mauritius, would determine the entire foreign policy of the new state. That is why, committed to the decolonization process, Mauritius turned to the Europe of the Common Market. England would soon become a member and with France, a big sugar producer, it would have a decisive influence on the future of Mauritian sugar. Mauritius thought that by tightening its traditional bonds with France, it would have an ally for the sale of its sugar in Europe. This policy was crowned with success. Guided by France, Mauritius was the first country in the Commonwealth to become an associated partner of the Common Market and, with the backing of Paris, obtained the lion's share of the sugar protocol of the Lome Accord on the sugar quota which ACP [African, Caribbean and Pacific

countries (associated with the EEC)] could sell in Europe.⁸ But that is not all: For the first time, record sugar receipts coincided with a strong increase in investments in tourism and the new free export zone.

In colonial times, the Mauritian plantocracy only invested in sugar, but decolonization and the partnership with Europe created other possibilities. In fact, the Lome Accord opened the doors of the rich European market to manufactured products from the associated countries and while, for most of them, this opening remained totally theoretical, Mauritius seized the chance to diversify its development. The government offered very advantageous conditions to investors, and the planters, in partnership with foreign capital, began to manufacture a whole range of products for export.⁹ This development does not harm sugar interests because there is abundant labor and the plants in the free zone do not occupy farmland. The same is true of tourism, which does not compete with the sugar industry. The latter has always produced a surplus, which now contributes to the diversification of development. Thus, the structures inherited from encouraged the development of an independent Mauritius to the extent that the plantocracy was capable of diversifying the accumulation of capital. However, one must point out that this diversification does not eliminate the dependency of Mauritius because tourism and the products of the free zone are dependent, even more than sugar, on the ups and downs of the world market. Furthermore, development amidst dependency makes the island more vulnerable to political pressures from abroad. If relations with Great Britain or France were to deteriorate because of military stakes in the Indian Ocean or the status of Reunion, for example, it would not be difficult, for either of these powers, to check imports of sugar or of products from the free zone to the European market.

In Reunion, the operation of the institutions of an advanced industrial society certainly helped decolonize the Creole society more, but at the same time, the latter was doomed to the institutionalized dependency that paralyzes its development. Actually, departmentalization weakened the traditional bourgeoisie without the powerful bureaucracy set up being able to get the economy going. The accession of Reunionese society to the consumer goods of a developed society did not help it to develop local production. The artificial inflation of purchasing power enables Reunionese to acquire luxury articles which it is more profitable to import from the mother country than to produce locally. Second, the technological lag, the distance from European markets, the burden of social benefits and above all, the high cost of an unskilled labor force make the island incapable of competing with a country such as Mauritius. While in Mauritius, "Europe" encourages a development based on cheap labor, the "European" standard of living of Reunion and the competition from products from Europe and also Mauritius considerably reduce the chances of the new French department.¹⁰ Not only do the Reunionese and mainland civil servants (based in the sister island) make a fortune for Mauritian hotelkeepers, but firms -- mainly French -- have now set up facilities in the free zone to export to the Reunionese market.

The nondevelopment of Reunion cannot therefore be explained by the "exploitation" of the mother country through any "unequal trade." On the contrary, the sterility of Reunion stems from the extreme generosity of the mother country

to it. Actually, government aid in the construction of social and economic infrastructures has not been lacking. Social allocations of all kinds, the construction of schools, hospitals, roads, the port, airport, dams, water facilities and the installation of electricity are comparable or even superior to those of the mother country. Transformations wrought by the government in these domains are all the more remarkable because the natural environment is thankless and the human poverty caused by isolation and colonialism particularly profound in Reunion. And yet, the very extent of the government effort in this context of underdevelopment condemns Reunion to live off of assistance and to export its children. Departmentalization has eliminated any possibility of creating a national bourgeoisie and the plantocracy has become a comprador class of metropolitan commercial capitalism. They are compradores, however, who share a surplus produced, not in Reunion, but in the mother country, because that is where the exploitation takes place. Excess profits shared by metropolitan and Reunionese merchants within the framework of departmentalization are but a moment in the circuit of realizing surplus extracted from the French proletariat. Government is part and parcel of this circuit through taxes and transfers which, to quote government experts, "make it possible to simultaneously increase dependency on the mother country and the standard of living of the population and to develop a parasitic economy."¹¹ Unable to create productive jobs, departmentalization inflates the tertiary sector and organizes emigration to the mother country so that Reunionese workers may help produce the surplus there, as well as relieve the structural unemployment in Reunion and defuse the discontent of the young and its political consequences.¹² Departmentalization has perhaps turned Reunion into a "piece of France," but a rather particular type of France, one of aided people, candidates for emigration, civil servants and gendarmes, but no producers. "Reunion is France"? Rich, naturally, in the midst of poor countries. But one may well wonder whether that is the image which France wants to project in this region of the Third World, in an age of decolonization and development.

Sovereignty and Strategy

Reunion is also an element of the world role which France, more than any other European power, wants to continue to play. Actually, for France, decolonization did not mean abdication from the rank of world power and withdrawal to Europe. Rather, the French leaders, those of the Fourth and Fifth Republics, interpreted the notion of Europe as having a world dimension. From this standpoint, decolonization and participation in the economic construction of Europe, in the narrow sense of Common Market, are but the means of a policy whose goal remains a world role. By virtue of its history and vocation, France is universal. With its overseas departments and territories, it is already present in all the oceans and it intends to play the role of avant-garde of Europe everywhere in the world. It is a role all the more necessary in the Indian Ocean, the "new heart of the world," where the struggle of the big powers is particularly bitter.

Decolonization policies in the Mascarenes have never meant abandonment of the naval hegemony of the West in the Indian Ocean. On the contrary, the European powers have sought to strengthen their strategic positions through decolonization, obtaining more reliable military bases that are better adapted to the

nuclear age. The main role of England in decolonizing Mauritius was to keep the atoll of Diego-Garcia in the Chagos Archipelago in order to have a support base for the Anglo-American strategy in the region. Unlike France, Great Britain, while in a position to do so, did not see its role in the Indian Ocean in European terms. There and elsewhere, it chose the American ally. Despite a policy of rapprochement with Europe (particularly through its entry into the Common Market), Great Britain did not ask France to participate in the plans of London and Washington for the detachment of Chagos from Mauritius and the militarization of the region. Aside from the priority which London has always granted to the American alliance over its ties with Europe, one can see in this case an additional concern: that of not expanding the framework of Anglo-Saxon military plans. Diego-Garcia was not simply to mark a strengthening of the Anglo-American military presence, but the opening of a new phase of the nuclear strategy, which takes to the heart of the Third World the submarines armed with Polaris III missiles, capable of hitting the vital centers of the USSR. In order not to alert international opinion and the American Congress, London and Washington minimized the strategic importance of Diego when they could no longer keep the new deployment secret. Independence was granted to Mauritius in exchange for the complete cooperation of the regime with the dismemberment and evacuation of the people from Chagos. Even if the Mauritian leaders were not kept informed of the military plans in detail, they nevertheless participated in the dismemberment of the territory and thus backed the Anglo-American military policy. When this policy was unveiled before the American Congress and in the international press, arousing objections from countries in the region, Port Louis revealed great understanding for the position of London and Washington. The responsibility of the regime in the surrender to a foreign power of part of the national patrimony and its contribution -- even indirect -- to the militarization of the region would prevent it from winning an award for patriotism. In granting independence to those they brought to power in Mauritius, the English obtained the islands, whose strategic importance is on a world scale, very cheaply. London paid back its "good friends" by giving them the guarantee of English troops in order to better consolidate their power in the early years of independence and by discouraging any inclination toward secession in Rodrigues.¹³

Reunion, with its large population and rather special geography, does not offer facilities comparable to those of Diego in the atomic submarine age. But departmentalization enables France to call itself a riparian power in the Ocean, unlike Great Britain and the United States. Paris also reserved for itself the islands in the Mozambique Channel, annexed at the time of the decolonization of Madagascar through a procedure somewhat like that used by the English for the detachment of Chagos. The islands of Madagascar and Tromlin could eventually be used as "ricochet bases" for the French forces that had to withdraw to Reunion when they left Madagascar.¹⁴ The strengthening of the military apparatus in Reunion and continuation of French sovereignty over the "scattered islands" reassure conservative regimes in the region, especially that of Mauritius, but rouse the hostility of nonaligned progressive states. It is true that the presence of French forces marks the determination not to leave Europe's place empty in a region that was its private reserve until only recently. Paris wants to underline the distinction between its position as a riparian power and that of the British and Americans, who are foreigners in

the Indian Ocean. A Western power, France does not want to leave military strength solely in the hands of the Americans, as the English do, based on the weakness of their economy.¹⁶ Its efforts to set itself apart from the United States and assure Europe of a separate place in relations with countries in the region have borne some fruit. The emphasis on the North-South dialogue, backed by a policy of generous, enlightened cooperation, has certainly given rise to a response favorable to a specifically European dimension of the West. And yet, despite these assets, French diplomacy has not been able to make everyone in the region accept the idea that France is not a foreign power but a country truly belonging in the Indian Ocean.¹⁷ France is definitely not viewed as an intruder on the same footing with the Americans on Diego. But the strengthening of military forces in Reunion and the occupation of the little islands around Madagascar create fear and push states and progressive movements toward a radical nonalignment that could be unfavorable to Europe. It was the militarization of Diego and the presence of the American submarines that brought Admiral Gorchakof's fleet to the Indian Ocean, thereby putting an end to the naval hegemony of the West. The new configuration of forces resulting therefrom will certainly not fail to tip the dependency of the islands in directions one can already glimpse.

Decolonization actually changes in significance when private reserves disappear. Even when they wanted to remain nonaligned, the new states remained objectively tied to the West as long as it maintained its hegemony over the Indian Ocean, which certainly strengthened the conservative regimes. The end of the monopoly over the Ocean now offers small nations possibilities of bargaining and therefore, of relative independence, out of all proportion with their size and resources. The end of the Western hegemony over the sea does not only mean an arms race and an "island hunt," but a questioning of conservative regimes brought to power by decolonization. Armed intervention entails serious risks of escalation and the West is therefore forced to modify its means in order to keep its clients in power.

While they do not exclude the use of a minimum of armed force, even mercenaries, if need be, in order to bring down a regime of which they do not approve or no longer approve, the great powers prefer to use other arguments of an economic or cultural nature. France warned its clients that it would not tolerate the questioning of the status of Reunion by nations in the region benefiting from its cooperation. The dispute broke out in February 1973 at a meeting of the OAU Liberation Committee Council of Ministers in Tripoli. At that meeting, Colonel Qadhdhafi brought up the question of the status of Reunion, a French department. Could the situation be accepted by the Organization of African Unity for which all of Africa, including the islands, was to be freed from all foreign occupation? Paris immediately reacted, threatening to cut off supplies to any nation approving the Liberation Committee proposal.¹⁸ The warning assumed a particularly harsh form with regard to Mauritius when Michel Debre spoke publicly on FR3. Nevertheless, Mauritian diplomacy never deviated from its pro-French line on the questions of the Indian Ocean, Africa in general and Reunion in Particular. Mauritius had followed the advice of Paris in becoming a member of the African-Mauritian Common Organization (OCAM), an organization sponsored by France in order to counter the influence of the OAU. When Madagascar withdrew from the organization, which it called neocolonial,

Mauritius' accession to OCAM enabled France to maintain the distinction -- essential because of Reunion -- between the islands, on the one hand, and the African continent, thus rejecting the position of the OAU. Far from approving of the Liberation Committee proposal, Mauritius opposed the proposition of Madagascar and the Seychelles concerning an official position of the OAU on behalf of Port Louis in its claim on Tromlin. Furthermore, Mauritius came out against the OAU majority on the question of the admission of the Abdallah regime in power in the Comoro Islands thanks to Bob Denard.¹⁹

French diplomacy triumphed easily over the Liberation Committee progressives. Under the influence of the "moderate" states, including Mauritius, the conference of ministers of foreign affairs came out against the proposed resolution of the ad hoc committee which, "considering that the island of Reunion is an integral part of the African continent," had asked ministers to speak out on measures to be taken to hasten its independence. The "moderates" argued that it had not yet established that a national liberation movement pushing for independence existed in Reunion. But the ideology of the "liberation of Africa" preached by "fiercely nonaligned" nations such as Mozambique and Algeria finds more and more response on the islands. Madagascar and the Seychelles now see themselves as "progressive" and even in Mauritius, part of public opinion is for the "liberation" of the sister island.²⁰

If the questioning of the status of Reunion gains ground in the islands, it is mainly because of French policy in the region. France's participation in the militarization of the Indian Ocean is considered as a danger to the progressive states and forces. The occupation of the Mozambique Channel islands and Tromlin is seen as an encirclement, by Madagascar mainly, and fuels the legal debate over the status of these small islands located on the major oil route. New controversies over the exclusiveness of the maritime zones and the extent of the territorial waters have now encumbered the dispute between France, a great industrial and maritime power that sees itself as belonging to the Indian Ocean, and the small archipelago states in the region.²¹

Diversification and De-Creolization

Culturally also, decolonization has provided Mauritius with possibilities of diversifying its dependency vis-a-vis Europe. England, which for over a century of colonization of the Mascarenes, remained a foreign power, has never had more followers for its language and culture than since decolonization. In Mauritius, the new state bourgeoisie, long brushed aside by the Kreole hierarchy, has turned to the language of the colonial power that backed its rise to power. The island has adopted English as the official language and Mauritians, especially those of Indian origin, show great enthusiasm in acquiring the language, which has become indispensable in gaining access to the civil service. English also has the advantage of neutrality compared with other less used languages in Mauritius,²² which are identified with competing ethnic groups, and it does not conflict with Creole, the real national language and the sole authentic cultural product of the Mascarenes.²³ This use of English by the new leadership class enables Great Britain not to resort to excessively visible means that could cause it to be criticized for cultural neocolonialism. It is the Mauritian Government itself that is essentially responsible for

teaching English and the dissemination of British culture in Mauritius. Associated with the institutions of independence and economic development, English has become the language of the Mauritian elite, all ethnic origins combined.

Unlike England, France has never been a foreign power in the islands for the very good reason that it was she who gave birth to these Creole societies. Despite the long British occupation, the French presence, based on the all-powerful plantocracy, has remained very much alive in Mauritius.²⁴ Decolonization may have seemed for a time to bring that presence into question, but the real stakes of the conflict pitting the new state bourgeoisie against the traditional Creole hierarchy at the time of independence was power and not culture. That is why independence has brought a renewal of the French language and culture to the old "Isle of France." Well established, the state bourgeoisie has no more reservations vis-a-vis the French, now that the complete cooperation of the plantocracy has been won. France's role in the reconciliation of the Creole hierarchy to the regime was not a minor factor. In fact, French diplomacy used a whole range of means in order to keep an independent Mauritius close to Reunion within its sphere. By supporting the regime born of decolonization and by cultivating its excellent cultural relations with the Mauritians, France has killed two birds with one stone: It increased the radius of its language, while assuring itself of an ally for its policy of departmentalization in Reunion. Actually, thanks to Reunion's status, Mauritius can play on the French register, while cultivating its ties with the British world. Both culturally and economically, Mauritius has therefore succeeded in gaining relative autonomy.

In Reunion, French has always been the language of the Creole hierarchy. But in the Creole societies, language is more than a mere means of communication and departmentalization has created new problems in this regard. By trying to make French, once reserved for the masters, the language of everyone, civil servants from the mother country have directly attacked the most striking symbol of domination of the bourgeoisie. Insofar as departmentalization succeeds in destroying the Creole culture, it frees the Reunionese from a situation as colonized people. For, if the Reunionese truly become totally French culturally speaking, they cease being Creoles -- that is, belonging to an extremely stratified social group in which language plays a basic ideological role. Furthermore, the Kreole language in Reunion is much more threatened by French than in Mauritius. Actually, spring from the French, the Kreole language is poorly equipped to resist its dissemination, especially since French, a prestige language, is also the language of a powerful state. Cultural departmentalization goes much further than decolonization. One should perhaps speak of de-Creolization both sociologically and linguistically.

Conclusions

Decolonization is not liberation. True independence is not within reach of these small Creole societies created amidst colonial dependency. If one considers the two types of decolonization adopted in the Mascarenes, one observes that departmentalization has "decolonized" the Reunionese more than international sovereignty has the Mauritians. On the other hand, Mauritius is more independent than Reunion. Departmentalization in Reunion has decolonized the

Reunionese at the price of the de-Creolization: They have become more French by becoming less Creole. The international sovereignty of the sister island has made the Creoles more Mauritian, but they also remain more prisoner of the colonial society than their Reunionese neighbors. Accession to sovereignty has not decolonized Creole society as much, but it enables the state to enjoy relative autonomy by diversifying its dependency.

Nevertheless, the destiny of the two sister islands remains linked: Conservatives in Mauritius were inspired by the Reunionese model in opposing independence. Today, a faction -- still small -- of the left in Reunion would like to follow the Mauritian example and claim international sovereignty, but in order to go further than the neocolonial state toward liberation. The type of decolonization applied to Reunion is less and less acceptable to the progressive states and forces in the region at a time when the strategic importance of the Indian Ocean for the great powers is growing. Will there be a certain return of the "system" of the Mascarenes so dear to Mahe de Labourdonnais?

FOOTNOTES

- * This work is the result of a three-month stay at the Center of Studies and Research on Societies in the Indian Ocean, University of Aix-en-Provence, made possible by a grant from the National Center of Scientific Research/Social Science Research Council, within the framework of university exchanges of the European Economic Community.
- 1. I borrowed the notion of "Creole society" from Jean Benoist. In particular, one should refer to his article "Antilles and the Mascarenes: Constants and Variations in the Creole Archipelagos" in *ESPACE CREOLE* (Fort de France), 4, 1980. The notion of Creole society is similar to that of "plantation society," with the specific element that it is insular, small in dimension and entirely created by colonization.
- 2. For the history of the islands, see the works by Auguste Toussaint, "Histoire des Iles Mascareignes," Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1972, 351 pp, and "Histoire de l'Ile Maurice," Presses Universitaires de France, 1974, 128 pp. Also A. Scherer, "Histoire de la Reunion," Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1974, 128 pp.
- 3. On the notion of "insular trap" and in general, for anything having to do with human geography, one should see the admirable work by Professor Dupon. When one has read the four volumes of this doctoral thesis, one wonders what can be left to say about the Mascarenes. J.-F. Dupon, "Contraintes Insulaires et Fait Colonial aux Mascareignes et aux Seychelles," Paris, Honore Champion, 1976.
- 4. Speech by Leon de Lepervanche before the Constituent National Assembly in the debate on the law of 19 March 1946 granting to the four "old colonies" the status as French departments. *JOURNAL OFFICIEL*, "Debats de AN Constituante," 23, 13 March 1946, p 665.

5. AFR, BULLETIN SPECIAL OUTRE-MER, 17 June 1948, 545, quoted in M. Robert, "La Reunion, Combats pour l'Autonomie," Paris, 1976, p 36.
6. The theme of "Reunion is France" constantly crops up in political discourse: "The Reunion-French Department Association asks you to count yourselves. Everyone, bourgeois and tradespeople, white or black, employers and servants, as at the mass (the nation is also sacred), let us gather around the national flag to say that we are French." In Jacques Lougnon, "Quinze Annees d'Actualites Locales," T2, Reunion, 1977, p 149. Barre, himself from Reunion, said on 5 November 1978 during a visit to the island: "There is no decolonization to carry out in Reunion because for three centuries, the island has never ceased to be French by the very nature of things and the will of its people." And: "You are not 500,000 Reunioneese. You are part of the 50 million French" (quoted in OCEAN INDIEN ACTUEL, 16/17, 1979, p 20). J. Chirac, in an interview with QUOTIDIEN DE LA REUNION, 10 March 1981: "You are France in the Indian Ocean." P. Dijoud, answering newsmen's questions at the end of his last trip to Reunion before the 1981 elections: "Reunion is truly a French department." "The status of the department seems to me to be irreversible." A pause and the minister continued: "It is irreversible." LE QUOTIDIEN DE LA REUNION, 2 February 1981.
7. The Reunioneese right organized against the election of a single departmental assembly. A departmentalist Militant Front, led by Jean Fontaine, deputy representing the far right (he beat Paul Verges in the legislative elections thanks to the refusal of the socialists to give their votes to the communist candidate on the second ballot) and the Reunion-French Department Association brought over 20,000 people out into the streets in Saint Denis to recall the attachment of the Reunioneese to France and oppose government proposals. Jean Fontaine demanded the resignation of Henri Emmanuelli, secretary of state for the overseas departments and territories. The socialists condemned the demonstration, but the Socialist Federation of Reunion is not comfortable with its powerful partner from the Reunioneese left, the Reunion Communist Party. In fact, a single assembly elected by proportional voting will give all its weight to the Communist Party, by far the most structured on the island, and Wilfrid Bertile, socialist deputy elected with the rightist votes in the last elections, is working with his friends on a strategy that would enable certain center movements to occupy a substantial place in this assembly. The socialists could then work with them, using them as a counterweight to neutralize the influence of the Reunion Communist Party. LETTRE DE L'OCEAN INDIEN, 4, 21 November 1981, and LETTRE DE L'OCEAN INDIEN, 8, 19 December 1981.
8. 500,000 tons out of a total of 1.4 million.
9. One would read with interest the article by Claude Cheysson, "La CEE et les Pays en Voie de Developpement; l'Exemple des Pays de l'Ocean Indien," DEFENSE NATIONALE, July 1976, pp 43-60. Cheysson was one of the architects of the EEC's relations with the Third World before becoming minister of foreign relations in the Mauroy government.

10. Even for sugar, Mauritius, with the ACP agreement, is in a better position than Reunion. In the beginning, in fact, at the time of the Rome Treaty negotiations, France was still a colonial power. The other signers of the Treaty refused to accept the difference between overseas departments and colonies and emphasized that the FEOGA [expansion unknown] should not be applicable to the overseas departments. However, Article 227 of the Rome Treaty stipulates that community rules on agriculture are applicable to the overseas departments. For sugar then, Reunion was placed on the same footing as any other department of the mother country, but without the FEOGA to reorganize it. Since 1975, however, with the Lome Convention, ACP countries producing sugar enjoy guaranteed quotas and prices in the EEC. Under pressure from France, the EEC agreed to help refineries that get their supplies from the overseas departments, but only those in the mother country (therefore, not to overseas departments). BULLETIN D'INFORMATION DU CENADOM, 38, 1977 and 40, 1977.
11. General Commissariat for Planning, APPROCHE DU IVe PLAN DES DOM, Paris, 1974, p 43.
12. At the beginning of 1981, P. Dijoud announced that the Office of Migration for Overseas Departments (BUMIDOM) would recruit 7,000 more young people in 1981. Some 70,000 Reunionese have emigrated to the mother country since 1962, but there are reportedly over 80,000 Reunionese in France (LE QUOTIDIEN DE LA REUNION, 19 January 1981). The vast majority of BUMIDOM immigrants are very young farmers and workers and are "darker" than the average on the island. D. Lecompte, "La Population Reunionnaise: Problemes Actuels et Prospective Pour l'An 2000." Direction Departementale de l'Equipement, Reunion, 1975. Minister Dijoud admitted that emigration was necessary because of unemployment. (LE JOURNAL DE L'ILE DE LA REUNION, 2 February 1981) According to figures from Albert Commins, there are reportedly 32,000 jobseekers in Reunion. Every year, 10,000 more young people enter the labor market. In 1985, 85,000 jobs therefore had to be found. But according to the most optimistic figures, scarcely 32,000 could be created (LE JOURNAL DE L'ILE DE LA REUNION, 23 January 1981, p 5). However, immigration to France is beginning to cause problems because of the economic crisis and rising racism. The new socialist government in France does not intend to overturn the emigration policy of the overseas departments, however. In fact, BUMIDOM credits have nearly doubled in the 1982 budget of the overseas departments and territories. LA LETTRE DE L'OCEAN INDIEN, 3, 14 December 1981.
13. Long neglected by Port Louis, the people of Rodrigues identified much more with their island than with the Mauritian Government. Creole, quite homogeneous and Catholic, Rodrigues is the only Mascarene island not to have experienced the great plantation and Indian immigration. Having the right to vote for the first time, the people of Rodrigues voted almost unanimously against independence in a Mauritian state which they deemed to be under the domination of the Hindus, and voted as a bloc against the PMSD [Mauritian Social Democratic Party], which recommended integration with Great Britain.

14. According to sources in the Mauritian Government, Paris reportedly asked for military facilities in Port Louis when the English announced that they were not going to renew the defense agreement with Mauritius. THE TIMES, 28 April 1975. But on the following day, the government made a correction, stating that it was not at the time looking for a military base on Mauritius (THE TIMES, 29 April 1975). On the notion of "ricochet bases," see H. Labrousse, "Indian Ocean, New Heart of the World," MONDE EN DEVELOPEMENT, 21, 1978.

15. According to Jacques Moine, "Indian Ocean and Progressivism," L'AFRIQUE ET L'ASIE MODERNES, 123, 1979, pp 3-23, an attempted coup in Mauritius, supported by Madagascar in the summer of 1979, was reportedly foiled by Ramgoolam, who had gotten wind of it in Europe. I have personal information from sources close to the Mauritian Embassy in Paris to the effect that Ramgoolam allegedly asked Paris to have troops based in Reunion intervene in Mauritius at the time of the August 1979 strikes, but the Elysee is said to have refused, in order not to displease the English.

16. The agreement between Great Britain and the United States on the Indian Ocean islands was negotiated at the time of the Macmillan-Kennedy meeting in 1961 (H. Labrousse, "Le Golfe et le Canal," Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1973, p 23). By this "secret" agreement, the English were to amputate the islands and evacuate the people. In return, the Americans gave a \$14-million rebate on Polaris missiles that London had bought. This transaction was later admitted by the State Department (NEW YORK TIMES, 17 October 1975). The British Government admits receiving only \$10.5 million (THE GUARDIAN, 2 October 1975). These British-American dealings are reportedly not removed from the resounding "No!" of General De Gaulle to Great Britain's request to join the Common Market.

17. See, for example, the statement by Albert Rene, president of the Seychelles: "...In my opinion, the only peoples having the right to be present in the Indian Ocean are those from the region. On a strictly legal basis, France considers itself as an Indian Ocean country because of the fact that Reunion is a 'French department.' But I said it in Paris and I repeat here that I think that that French presence is an anachronism that history will sooner or later eliminate" (interview in AFRIQUE-ASIE, 11-24 June 1979).

18. Qadhafi supposedly said: "...Our Reunionese brothers are the victims of a political and social situation inflicted by colonialism. We appeal to them to free themselves and to form a liberation movement, promising them all our aid."

19. Bob Denard, who also bears the name Colonel Mustafa Mhadjoub, was once the confidence man of Imam Badr in Yemen before "serving" in Katanga. See: J. Latremoliere, "France and the New Comoro Government," AFRIQUE CONTEMPORAINE 100, November-December 1978. Denard led the 50 mercenaries who ousted Ali Soilih from power in the Comoro Islands. De Guiringaud denied any participation by France in this affair the National Assembly

on 22 June 1978. But, according to Philippe Leymarie, a newsman well informed about French policy and who has just published a work on "L'Ocean Indien, Nouveau Coeur du Monde," Paris, Karthala, 1981, Denard reportedly enjoyed the aid of very influential circles in Paris.

20. Paul Beranger, leader of the MMM, played a decisive role in the organization of the First Conference of Progressive Parties and Movements in the Indian Ocean, held in Mahe (Seychelles), from 27 to 29 April 1978. A conference resolution expresses support of participants in the "claim of the people of Reunion for their self-determination...." OCEAN INDIEN ACTUEL, 6-7 May-June 1978, pp 18-19. The spokesman for foreign affairs of the MMM was kicked out of Reunion for stating that "the independence of Reunion was inevitable." WEEK-END, 15 October 1978.
21. For most nations in the region, it would be preferable for the great powers not to be present with their instruments of death in the Indian Ocean. Since the beginning of the English-American program, they have constantly protested the deployment of nuclear force in the Indian Ocean.
22. Except for the Bhojpuri, a kind of Kreole as far removed from the Indian languages as the Kreole from French and which is still spoken in rural areas (where it is increasingly replaced by Kreole), Mauritians of Indian origin do not speak or scarcely speak -- nor do they read or write -- Indian languages. In contrast, groups identify with Indian languages that are the symbol of their native communities in India. The majority known as "Calcatia," because of the great port from which many of the "committed" left for Mauritius in the 19th century, identify with Hindi. A minority that began to arrive in Mauritius by the 18th century and called "Madras," also because of the port of embarkation, identifies with the Tamul language and a part of the group with Telugu. In the case of the Madras, there are also the differences in Hindu religious rites in southern India which served to maintain the identity of the group compared with the Calcatia majority. The importance of the caste factor would not be as marked among the Madras as among the Calcatia, probably because of their minority status. A great number of Madras are now Catholic and some have passed over to the community of "colored people." The Madras have traditionally been more willingly French-speaking and Francophile than the Calcatia and there are many links between the Malbars of Reunion and the Madras of Mauritius. Another minority group, the "Bombays" because of Bombay, identify with the Maharati language spoken in the region of that great port. The Mauritians of Indian origin but of the Muslim religion also identify with a language, Urdu, because it is the language adopted by Pakistan. The decisive factor here is less the linguistic identification than the very real opposition between Muslims and Hindus, stirred up by the Indian-Pakistan conflict transposed to Mauritius. The only Indian group that truly speaks its native tongue is that of the Gujerati Muslims. Small in number, that people plays a very important role in commerce. It escaped the Creolization process and kept its language and ties with the other Gujerati communities in the Indian Ocean, India and East Africa.

23. We have taken the spelling "Kreole" from Dev Verahsawmy, a Mauritian linguist. Concerning the origins of the Kreoles of Mauritius and Reunion, see R. Chaudenson, "Les Creoles Francais," Paris, Nathan, 1979. The author points out the connections between the Creole language and the plantation colonization system, whose essential principle was the deculturation of immigrant labor and its Creole acculturation. Reunion, the first, played the role of cradle of the language, which then spread to the other islands.
24. K. Noel, "The Problem of Languages in Mauritius," CULTURE FRANCAISE, 1, 1972, pp 7-23. The English reportedly made efforts to Anglicize the Creoles around 1840, but quickly gave up in the face of resistance, since civil servants had neither the desired determination nor the ability.

11,464

CSO: 3419/1067

ELF, GULF VYING FOR OFFSHORE OIL CONCESSION

Lisbon TEMPO in Portuguese 7 Jul 83 p 20

[Article by R.S.: "Gulf and ELF: Giants Battle Behind the Wings in Luanda"]

Text] The French company ELF could succeed the Gulf Oil Company of the United States in the exploitation of offshore hydrocarbons in the Cabinda concession, report sources linked to oil circles in Luanda.

Representing about 85 percent of Angola's income, petroleum is the strategic raw material in the Angolan Government's determination of economic and international policies.

When Francois Mitterrand came to power, France benefited from the sympathy which the liberation movements of the former Portuguese colonies traditionally show to socialist European powers, and French industry began to be given a more relevant role in cooperation with the People's Republic of Angola.

The favored status which the French are beginning to win in Angola is even more pronounced because of the United States' inability to achieve a political solution to the complex political-military problem which, on one hand, places the forces of Luanda and South Africa in opposition and, on the other, indefinitely postpones the independence of former Southwest Africa.

As a result of the understanding demonstrated by Eliseu and, above all, Claude Cheysson's sensitivity to African problems (which was recently made clear in the United Nations conference on Namibia, when Cheysson sided with SWAPO's N'joma and Angola's Paulo Jorge in advocating dissolution of the Western "Contact Group," in open opposition to the American strategy), France has been able to win a good share of the Angolan market, to the detriment of the Portuguese, who have shown little capacity to penetrate a market in which it had traditionally been the leader.

In light of the world recession, and particularly after the drop in oil prices (Angolan oil is currently sold for \$26.00 to \$26.10 per barrel), the seven major companies which dominate the world market in the "black gold" (Gulf, TEXACO and ESSO, among others) defined recession policies, giving priority to exploiting the onshore and offshore oil in the United States and occasionally prospecting abroad.

It is within this context that Gulf Corporation, for example, decided in the last 8 months to close its European offices; in Angola, the same multinational (which, along with SONANGOL [National Angolan Fuel Company], owns Cabinda Gulf Oil, currently producing about 135,000 barrels per day) is playing from a position of strength in the highly secret negotiations in Luanda regarding the terms of the exploitation.

According to individuals linked to the company management, Gulf Oil will remain in Angola only if the Angolan Government is prepared to meet its conditions, specifically with respect to the Angolan Government's share of the profits from the exploitation.

Incidentally, the petroleum from the concession is already committed, up to 1985, to the repayment of SONANGOL's investments, primarily in the liquid gas injection project. The firmness of the positions and circumstantial pressures reached the point that, last February, Gulf stopped financing SONANGOL.

Thus it was that, at the beginning of the year, a special envoy of the French Government visited Luanda, with an agenda for discussion of the petroleum problem and a notebook with some important recommendations, according to diplomatic sources.

In February, one of the vice presidents of the Gulf Corporation visited Luanda and was received by President Eduardo dos Santos.

The concessionary in Block 3, off Soyo, on the continental shelf directly next to the Cabinda Block, ELF is a nationalized French company which, under the management of a socialist government, is in a better political position to win over the sympathy of the Angolan Government, thus upsetting the traditional balance and the division of spoils which the oil multinationals have tacitly established world-wide.

Hence it is no accident that, unlike all the other companies, ELF, whose success in oil extraction has been limited, has increased its budget for Angola (having reduced its allocations for drilling elsewhere in the world) and plans to build a new base in Soyo or in Ambriz, a settlement south of Cabinda, about 30 kilometers from Luanda.

From all indications, the French are making a strong effort to replace the Americans in exploiting Cabinda's continental shelf, which is still the only truly profitable block in terms of oil production.

On the edges of this rivalry is TEXACO, which has a base in Luanda and in Soyo (Cabinda). TEXACO has been conducting new seismic studies in Block 2, and is beginning to drill small wells for possible exploitation. Unlike ELF, which expects to begin production early next year, TOTAL does not plan to drill this year.

For its part, CITIES, the concessionary in Block 9, with a base of operations in Lobito, is programmed for five wells, and is currently completing the last one. When the drilling is completed, CITIES plans to cease drilling activities for this year. In June 1982, the contracts for some test bores were already being rescinded, and there are no programs for the next few years.

Finally, AGIP plans to drill 9 wells from 1983 to 1986 in Block 1. Based in Zaire, AGIP, under pressure from SONANGOL, could establish a base in Soyo early next year.

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CSO: 3442/291

INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT LEADER ON SITUATION IN CABINDA

Lisbon TEMPO in Portuguese 7 Jul 83 pp 20-23

[Report on interview with Xavier Lubota, president of FLEC, date and place not given]

[Text] London (TEMPO)--Some \$30 million worth of petroleum per day is extracted from the U.S. Gulf Oil Company wells located on the seacoast of Cabinda. Elite units of the Cuban army and strong contingents of Angolan troops protect the oil installations, where the labor force is currently almost exclusively Italian.

This is one of the many paradoxes of African independence. Cubans are protecting American installations in Angola, whose product (petroleum) is used to pay the Soviet Union for the weapons with which the Angolan Government combats the various rebel movements operating in its territory.

Dr Francisco Xavier Lubota is president of the Front for the Liberation of the Cabinda Enclave [FLEC], a movement formed in August 1963, whose goal is the independence of the territory, which is currently dominated by forces serving the Angolan Government.

"The territory of Cabinda was never part of Angola," Lubota told us. "Since February 1885, the date of the signing of the Treaty of Simulambuco, which was later recognized by the Conference of Berlin, Cabinda has been a territory with a distinct status, different from the other Portuguese colonies."

Simulambuco is a name that few People in Portugal will recognize today. Anyone who has been in Cabinda or even in Angola knows its significance. In February 1885, the people of Cabinda, represented by their traditional chiefs, signed an agreement recognizing the sovereignty of the Portuguese crown, while the Portuguese promised to respect their autonomy and their own characteristics as a people.

"It was there that the Portuguese disembarked, at the mouth of the Zaire River," Lubota recalled, "and ever since then, there has been a special relationship between the Portuguese and the people of Cabinda, based on the Treaty of Simulambuco. There was never any trade in slaves captured in Cabinda, because this was a provision of the treaty. The Portuguese honored that treaty until 1975.

Struggle Began in 1959

"The first liberation movements in the Cabinda enclave were formed in 1959," Lubota told us, briefly reviewing their activities. "This first phase was

only diplomatic and began even before most of the Angolan liberation movements existed. Most of the [Cabinda] movements were organized by young students, refugees in neighboring countries, who wanted to claim the Cabindan people's right to independence, but their struggle was only at the diplomatic level. Based on the Treaty of Simulambuco, we have always sought recognition by the Portuguese Government of the Cabindan people's right to independence. Strangely enough, the former regime always acknowledged the specific status of Cabinda. Even in the Portuguese constitution, revised in 1971, Cabinda was designated as one of the Portuguese territories in Africa, side by side with the other colonies.

"If Cape Verde and Sao Tome e Principe had a right to their independence, why not Cabinda?" Lubota asked.

The arguments are simple and strong: 7,300 square kilometers of land (almost double the area of Cape Verde); 310,000 inhabitants (triple the population of Sao Tome e Principe); and a people whose language, traditions and culture are different from those of the peoples around them; with unusual economic potential, immense wealth in oil, woods, phosphates and other minerals, an advantageous geo-strategic location, at the intersection of three large countries (Zaire, Angola and the Congo), and a port close to the mouth of the Zaire River, one of the largest rivers in the world: in a few words, this is an accurate picture of Cabinda.

"After April 1974, the situation became extremely unfavorable for the Cabindan movements," Lubota said. "When the Angolan liberation movements and the Portuguese authorities met in Alvor, they determined that Cabinda was an integral part of Angola. What authority did they have to make this decision? What right did they have to determine the fate of a people without consulting it?"

Portugal Handed Angola and Cabinda to the MPLA

The Portuguese decolonization process has yet to be properly explained. Dr Francisco Lubota was a member of a FLEC delegation which met with Dr Mario Soares, Portugal's foreign affairs minister in 1975.

"We had a long conversation with Mario Soares, and we explained the entire Cabindan issue to him in detail. Following that conversation, Mario Soares said he was sufficiently enlightened and promised us that he would never again make any public statement counter to Cabinda's interests, because he felt that its struggle was just and he was a man who struggled for justice."

FLEC's attempts to be heard by the Portuguese authorities were fruitless. The Portuguese administration at that time totally disregarded the Treaty of Simulambuco and acted in accordance with the interests of the MPLA, including Cabinda in the territory of Angola. The importance of Cabinda's petroleum deposits was such that the MPLA installed its "Second Political-Military Front" in that territory even before April 1974.

"After the Alvor Accord, we felt there was nothing else to do," declared the FLEC leader. "In November 1975 we took up arms and began the second phase of our struggle."

"We Control Two-Thirds of Cabinda"

The first years of the war were difficult for FLEC. The lack of weapons, guerrilla structures and an efficient organization had its effect on military operations. Internal issues led to dissension with N'Zita Tiago, president of FLEC, who was ousted by the military. Since 1978, under the leadership of Francisco Lubota, FLEC has been expanding its operations in the jungles of Cabinda, with the full support of the population.

"Today we control two-thirds of the territory of Cabinda," Lubota said. "Our guerrillas operate with total freedom, except in the major cities where the MPLA and the Cubans have strong contingents. If you or any other journalists want to go there and see for yourselves, you can do so. With the support of the Cabindan people, we are certain that, sooner or later, Cabinda will be independent."

The oil installations are an important target for any guerrilla force. Protected by a special force composed almost exclusively of Cubans, the oil wells have been functioning.

"But in the jungles, the situation is different," declared Lubota. "The jungles are ours. Because almost all the oil wells are located on the coast, they are difficult to attack. We have a different strategy: to take over Cabindan territory, thus denying freedom of movement to the Cuban and Angolan forces. In 8 years, they have not been able to defeat us or drive us out, so we feel we have already won. It is only a question of time before we achieve total control of the territory and Cabinda's independence."

Situation Could Worsen in Coming Months

The FLEC program consists of four major demands which must be met if there is to be peace in the region.

1. Public recognition, by the Portuguese Government, of the Cabindan people's right to independence, because the only agreement recognizing Cabinda as an integral part of Angolan territory, the Alvor Accord, was formally annulled by the Portuguese Government in August 1975.
2. Portugal must call an international conference, under UN auspices, to find a solution allowing the Cabindan people to achieve their independence.
3. Angola must renounce any claim to Cabinda as part of its territory. All foreign, Cuban and Angolan troops must withdraw from Cabindan territory.
4. The Government of the United States of America and the Gulf Oil Company must immediately cease all commercial transactions with the Angolan regime, specifically those involving the territory of Cabinda. The leaders of FLEC, in their capacity as the legitimate representatives of the Cabindan people, are prepared to enter into discussion with representatives of Gulf Oil and the U.S. Government regarding this issue.

"Portugal's role is decisive," Lubota stressed. "It is even more decisive in that the coming months will be extremely important ones for the resolution of the Cabinda problem. Portugal could choose to respect the commitments assumed in 1885 in the Treaty of Simulambuco, or to continue the shameful work of the communist governments that handed Cabinda over to the MPLA."

Francisco Lubota trusts in the future and believes in his people, because FLEC is not alone in this struggle. "We have friends in Portugal, Portuguese who know Cabinda and its history. We have friends in many African countries, which I would rather not mention now, and many of these countries favor independence for Cabinda. There are other examples in Africa of struggles similar to ours: Eritrea, with the oldest liberation struggle on the African continent; Namibia, occupied by another African country.

"Sooner or later, however, the problem of the borders created by colonialism will have to be faced and resolved. These artificial borders are, even today, the cause of bloody internal conflicts and civil wars. Because of these borders, racism and tribalism rule today in many African countries."

The FLEC guerrillas are fighting an almost unknown and almost forgotten war, in the jungles of Cabinda, in the forests of Maiombe. The people of Cabinda, the "Fiote" people, will never forget that they once trusted in a treaty signed with another people, and that this treaty, respected for many, many years by both parties, was forgotten by the Portuguese who signed the Alvor Accord with the Angolan liberation movements.

"The people of Cabinda feel they have been betrayed by the Portuguese Government," lamented Francisco Lobuta, "but I do not confuse the Portuguese administration of that period with the Portuguese people."

6362

CS0: 3442/291

BRIEFS

NEW COMPANY FOR ANGOLAN COFFEE--In its efforts to reorganise the coffee industry, the Angolan Government has established a new company, Cafanol UEE, to undertake the reprocessing and export of Angolan coffee. The new company is to be headquartered in Luanda, but its operations will be national in scope. It will purchase commercial coffee produced in the country and will handle supplies to industry for domestic consumption as well as undertake exports. Encafe company which previously had a monopoly for the domestic marketing and export of Angolan coffee had earlier been dissolved. The Angolan Ministries of Planning and Finance have announced new guidelines for approving contracts with foreign firms in the areas of organisation, financial management, information processing and company accounting. Such contracts, after they have been approved by the Ministry of Finance, must now go to the Banco Nacional de Angola for analysis of the financial clauses. [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English No 3439, 11 Jul 83 p 1620]

ANGOLAN IRON ORE DELAY--Angola's plan to reactivate the Cassinga iron ore mines (West Africa, October 25, 1982) have been delayed perhaps as much as six months by last year's South African raids from Namibia into Angola, even though the mines are some 300 kilometres north of the border. The raids are said to have damaged mining equipment and disrupted the route between the mines and the port of Namibe (formerly Mocamedes). The Austrian company Austro-mineral, which had been retained by Ferrangol, the Angolan state iron ore concern, had been aiming at producing 1.1m. tonnes of high-grade haematite ore for export, mostly to Europe, though some interest had been expressed by Japanese concerns. In 1973, the last year of normal production before independence from Portugal and the civil war, exports totalled 6.3m. tonnes overall, mainly to Germany and Japan. Plans for other iron ore development in Angola have suffered a severe set-back because of the current world economic recession. Exploitation of the Kassala-Kitungo deposits near Luanda has had to be shelved indefinitely. Kasala is said to contain reserves of 72m. tonnes of magnetite, 43m. tonnes of which is recoverable by open-cast mining and Kitungo has reserves of 177m. tonnes with 44m. tonnes recoverable. The project was planned to produce about 2m. tpy of ore for sale in the Middle and Far East and elsewhere in Africa. [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English No 3439, 11 Jul 83 p 1623]

CSO: 3400/1663

CHANGES MADE IN DEMARCATION OF FIVE CANTONS

Libreville L'UNION in French 29 Jun 83 p 2

[Article by J.P. Bikoro]

[Text] In order to set out the principles for developing reliable maps for the five cantons making up Woleu Department, a mission from the Commissariat General for Regional Development, in cooperation with the regional administration and local authorities, visited the Oyem area from 20-22 June.

In the course of a meeting held in this connection at city hall, expanded to include members of the National Assembly from Woleu Department, chiefs of cantons, and prominent local personalities, important changes in these basic principles were approved, particularly as far as the boundaries of the cantons are concerned.

Far from being a dream, the new boundaries are considered rational and based on a demarcation system suited to the geographical situation of Woleu Department.

The maps inherited from the colonial period, disorganized from several points of view, presented certain problems in the administrative and social and economic areas. Proof of this is the disorderly division of a region into two or three different cantons and the inclusion of certain areas in cantons which were already very large.

The meeting, which ended on a note of general satisfaction despite discussion which at times was rather noisy, made it possible for the mission and for the local political authorities to prepare a new proposal for demarcation of cantonal boundaries in the following way:

Woleu Canton: this canton in principle should extend from Angone to Koumassi (on the line from Oyem to Bitam) and from Assok-Ngomo to the River Soh below Mebang Village (on the line from Oyem to Minvoul). The canton will also extend from Odzip-Andome Village to the River Mebone on the frontier between Oyem Department and the Congo.

Ellelem Canton: some changes were made in this canton, which in principle should extend from Adzabilone Village to the border between Oyem and Mitzié Departments, particularly at Assok-Begha.

The boundary of Bissok Canton will begin at Mbomah Village beyond the crossroads at Bibasse and continue to Ngouanh. It will follow the road under construction from Angueng to Medzome, near the River Woleu.

Kye Canton will extend from Anvame Village to the nearby river for which it is named, including the triangle from Afenane to Okass and Abamebah. Even so, it will include the road from Zoghengone to Mbolenzock and the road from Abona to Mbolenzok, which is under construction.

Finally, Nye Canton, having lost the area from Angone to Adzap-Ekatt to Woleu Canton, will keep all of the villages in the northwestern part of Woleu Department.

Once the new, proposed boundaries are adopted, this will make it possible to achieve better administrative planning at the department level. The same effort is to be made in the four other departments of Woleu-Ntem Province.

In order to avoid any disputes, signs are to be set up along cantonal and departmental boundaries clearly indicating the name of each administrative unit. The same thing will be done for village boundaries.

5170

CSO: 3419/1061

BRIEFS

WORKERS UNION REORGANIZED--The Union of Gambian Workers has been registered again after having been shut down for 5 years. The union's secretary general expressed his happiness at the reestablishment of his organization and the understanding showed by the government. Secretary General Jarrow, after recalling the circumstances that led to the union's banning since 1977, affirmed his readiness to reorganize the union efforts to enable workers to better defend their moral and material interests. He added that his organization will spare no effort to support the government led by President Jawara in carrying out its policy of economic recovery and social development. He also revealed that negotiations are in progress to establish a trade union federation. In regard to Senegambia, Mr Jallow said that his organization has begun discussions with the National Confederation of Senegalese Workers (CNTS) to develop a program of cooperation between the two organizations. Mr Jallow said he believes that trade union cooperation will make a considerable contribution to strengthening the Senegambian Confederation. [By Pap Saine] [Text] [Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 22 Jun 83 p 15] 9920

SENEGAMBIAN LEGAL INSTRUMENTS DEPOSITED--The registration with the UN General Secretariat of the legal instruments concluded between Senegal and Gambia under the agreement establishing the Confederation of Senegambia is continuing. The protocols on institutions, coordination of foreign policies, and financial arrangements of the confederation have been deposited with the UN General Secretariat by the Gambian and Senegalese permanent UN representatives. This procedure is prescribed by article 102 of the UN Charter. The three protocols were signed in Banjul on 2 July 1982 and ratified on 25 August of the same year. [Text] [Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 22 Jun 83 p 15] 9920

CSO: 3419/1042

KENYA

COUNTRY'S DEFENSE POSTURE DESCRIBED

Bonn AFRIKA-POST in German Jun 83 pp 14-15

[Article by Wolfgang Reith: "Kenya Can Defend Itself"]

[Text] When air force units attempted a putsch against President Moi in August 1982, there were frequent reports about a lack of efficiency and corruption. Today, Kenya's armed forces are what they always were --one of the best-trained armies in Africa.

The nucleus of the Kenyan armed forces was originally made up of the greater part of the legendary regiment of the King's African Rifles, which was recruited from black soldiers from the British possessions in East Africa and was commanded by white officers. In World War I the force was heavily involved in the conquest of German East Africa.

In World War II it first participated in the liberation of the kingdom of Ethiopia, which the Italians had occupied, it was then expanded to the 11th East African Division in the fight against the Japanese in Burma, and finally saw action in the Middle East. Reduced in numbers after 1945, the King's African Rifles had to be enlarged again to put down the Mau Mau revolts in the 1950's.

With Kenya's independence in 1963, about 6,000 men of this former British colonial combined-arms unit were transferred into the country's newly formed armed forces. About one-third belonged to the Kamba tribe, another one-third was composed of members of the Kalinyin tribe, and the remainder came from smaller tribes as well as the Asiatic population of Kenya.

The Kikuyu, the largest tribe and principal supporter of the Mau Mau movement, had hardly been represented in the ranks of the King's African Rifles and even after the establishment of the national armed forces they initially did not play any greater role. However, their political importance grew with the person of Jomo Kenyatta, the "father of independent Kenya" and first prime minister, who also became head of state following the transformation of the country into a republic in 1964.

Spurred by the fear that the influence of the Kikuyu could become too great, units of the former King's African Rifles mutinied a few weeks after independence, to suppress which Kenyatta summoned the help of the British army. Immediately afterwards a restructuring of personnel in the armed forces was undertaken, with the

result that all the tribes were given equal consideration in filling officers positions. This principle holds good today and helps to reduce tribal differences and create an all-Kenyan national sentiment.

In the colonial period the officer corps of the King's African Rifles consisted almost exclusively of Britons. After 1957 a few Asians rose to the officers ranks, and in 1961 eight blacks were promoted for the first time to lieutenant. At the time of independence, 2 years later, there were about 100 black officers, among them a lieutenant colonel, several majors, and the remainder captains and lieutenants.

Most of them had received their training at Sandhurst or at the Mons Officer Cadet School, which still existed at that time. The aspiring officers of the armed forces of independent Kenya were initially trained in various countries--Israel, Egypt, China and the Soviet Union--which soon proved to be problematical because of the different training courses and training methods. The training of NCOs was carried out in a special corporals regiment, which had been established before independence and in which a general higher education was imparted, in addition to military knowledge.

Although Kenyatta pursued a policy of independence from the blocs from the beginning, on the political and military level he always maintained good contacts with the former colonial motherland, which have remained intact until today. Soldiers from the Kenyan armed forces regularly take courses in Great Britain, while in return each year for 6 weeks British troops--normally infantry and engineers--with a force of about 1,000 men, stay for training in Kenya, carrying out joint exercises with Kenyan units.

The formerly strong British logistic base at Nanyuki was closed during their reduction of forces in the Middle and Far East. The link between the armed forces of both countries is carried out today through the British Army Training Liaison Staff (BATLSK), a small staff for administration and logistics in Kahawa near Nairobi. If the U.S. armed forces were to take advantage of the offer of the Kenyan government to use the country's airports and the harbor installations at Mombasa, additional militarily interesting foreign contacts would result.

Improvement of Weapons Systems Has Priority

In contrast to many other African states, which enlarged their armed forces following independence far beyond their real defense needs, the republic of Kenya placed more value on a steady improvement of weapons and equipment. The first thing was to establish an air force and a navy. These two branches of the armed forces had not existed before independence. Native white Kenyans, when they did not serve in the army, entered the Royal Air Force or the Royal Navy. In the colonial period blacks had shown hardly any interest in being trained in these branches of the armed forces.

From the outset, the government in Nairobi saw no need to introduce the draft. The armed forces therefore consist of professional soldiers, primarily of long-service

volunteers who are relatively well trained. However, as in other African armies, there is a noticeably shortage of specialized technical personnel, principally among the NCOs. There is also only a limited number of officer candidates available. Although their training is mostly carried out abroad, some military schools have now been built in the country itself. So the armed forces are gradually being expanded quantitatively, but in particular qualitatively. For example, in acquiring material, the principle is followed of purchasing only those types of weapons and equipment that can be used and maintained correctly. Current defense expenditures are a little over \$200 million.

All three branches of the armed forces have been doubled in numbers in recent years because of the politically unstable situation in the neighboring countries of Uganda, Somalia and Ethiopia. The army now numbers 12,500 men. Its command staff is located in Nairobi, as are the staffs of the two brigades, each of which comprises six infantry battalions, which in turn consist of three to four companies each in addition to a support company, corresponding to the British model.

Mechanization of the infantry currently extends no further than about 10 Panhard M-3 and 15 UR 416 (on a Unimog base) armored personnel carriers. Otherwise the soldiers march on foot or are carried in trucks. In the way of infantry support weapons there are modern Milan and Swingfire anti-tank guided missiles. Also forming part of the anti-tank defense are 84-mm Carl Gustav guns and 120-mm Wombat rocket launchers.

One tank battalion has 12 Vickers Mk 3 battle tanks—in the opinion of experts today one of the most modern and powerful tanks on the African continent. Thirty eight additional tanks of this type are in the process of being delivered. In addition there is an armored reconnaissance battalion which has about 30 Panhard AML 60/90s and a few British Saladins and Ferrets at its disposal.

Kenya's Air Force: 2,200 Men and 20 Fighter Planes

The artillery consists of one battalion with eight light 105-mm guns and one battalion with eight 120-mm mortars—which must be viewed as completely inadequate, when one considers that the neighboring countries of Somalia and Ethiopia as potential enemies have much heavier artillery weapons available.

In addition to an already existing battalion of engineers, a regiment of air cavalry is presently being built up for transportation purposes, which is to be equipped with 30 Hughes 500 MD helicopters.

Also part of the army is the 1,800 man strong paramilitary GSU (General Service Unit) police unit, which is used to maintain internal security.

Kenya's air force, formed on 1 June 1964, today numbers 2,200 men and has about 20 fighter planes available. A fighter-bomber squadron consists of 10 Northrop F-5 E and 2 F-5 F airplanes. The COIN [Combined Operations and Instruction] squadron is equipped with five older BAC 167 Strikemaster aircraft. There are also 12 new Hawk aircraft.

In addition there are 14 Bulldog trainers and two light transport squadrons with six DHC-4 Caribous, six DHC-5 D Buffalos and six Dornier Do-28 D Skyservants. Besides the airplanes, the air force also has a total of 14 helicopters.

Kenya's air force made the international headlines when a few discontented ranks from the enlisted men tried to mount a putsch on 1 August 1982 against the government of President Daniel arap Moi, which was put down by loyal army units. The commander of the air force, Maj Gen Karyuki, was replaced by army Gen Abdul Mohammed, who is loyal to the government, some high officers went into hiding or were sentenced by military courts to long periods of hard labor. The two leaders of the putsch, a corporal and a sergeant, had themselves flown to neighboring Tanzania by two officers trained as pilots by threatening to use violence.

The 650-man strong navy, with its 7 ships, serves only for coastal defense. The base for this, the smallest of the armed services, is the port of Mombasa. Besides 3 advance guard boats built by Vosper Thornycroft, which are equipped with two 40-mm cannon and attain top speeds of 23 to 25 knots, there are 4 more high-speed Brooke naval guard boats with a maximum range of 6,100 kms.

Cooperation with the United States and Great Britain

All in all, Kenya's armed forces are equal to the requirements of defending the country if necessary against aggressive acts by its neighbors. Somalia and Ethiopia are still much too occupied with each other, but it must be remembered that both countries continue to make territorial claims on Kenya which one day could become real again. Relationships with Tanzania and Uganda are also not exactly the best, although these countries will have to struggle with economic difficulties for the foreseeable future. In light of this situation, the slow expansion of the armed forces is an understandable preventive measure in order to be able to counter possible armed conflicts effectively. The limited military cooperation with Great Britain, and in recent years with the United States, plays an important part in this.

9581

CSO: 3420/25

HISTORY OF COOPERATION WITH CHINA EXAMINED

Bamako L'ESSOR in French 16 Jun 83 p 6

[Text] It has now been 15 years since the first protocol was signed by the People's Republic of China and Mali and since the Chinese medical mission was set up here. These have been 15 years in the course of which the devotion and the competence of the Chinese doctors have made themselves felt.

The overall record is very positive and the figures are eloquent enough: 5,186,579 patients have been seen, 102,195 individuals were hospitalized, 48,494 major and minor surgical operations of various sorts were performed, 264,834 laboratory analyses were made, and 139,415 X-rays were taken. To this must be added the fact that these doctors saved a large number of patients suffering from dangerous attacks of malaria and epidemic meningitis and cared for patients suffering from bilharziosis and onchocerciasis.

According to the figures for the period between 1975 and 1982, of the 105 types of surgical operations, totaling 19,762 in number, 335 were to correct urinary fistulae, 172 were amputations, 169 were partial intestinal resections, 162 were thyroidectomies, and 89 were for removal of calculi in the urinary tract. And 44 were for curettage of osteomyelitic lesions. The reattachment of a hand following partial amputation of the forearm was effected by microsurgery.

And haven't the Chinese doctors given their own blood to save lives in certain parts of the country? The Chinese gynecologists have saved more than one newborn baby by the mouth-to-mouth method of artificial respiration. Another aspect of this cooperation is the training of some of our medical and health cadres.

These examples suffice to illustrate the dynamism which has developed in these 15 years of medical cooperation between the two countries. By their efficient work, characterized by professional conscientiousness, the Chinese doctors have won the confidence and the friendship of the people of Mali, while at the same time gaining instructive experience in Malian traditional medicine.

5157

CSO: 3419/1062

UDPM OFFICIAL COMMENTS ON TRIP TO CHINA

Bamako L'ESSOR in French 27 Jun 83 p 3

[Text] Mr M'Bouille Siby, organization secretary of the Central Executive Bureau (BEC) of the UDPM [Democratic Union of Malian People] returned to Bamako Thursday following a 2-week stay (7-21 June) in the People's Republic of China.

Mr Siby headed a delegation including Messrs Sekou Minandiou Traore, assistant treasurer general of the DEC; Nock Ag Ania, third vice president of the National Assembly; and Oumar Kanoute, head of the bureau of the National Organization Commission of the BEC.

Mr Siby told the national press of the lessons learned from this visit to China.

"Our brief but enriching stay took us from Beijing to Shanghai, via Suchow and Nanking. It enabled us to assess the giant effort being made by the Chinese people to build a powerful modern socialist state under the leadership of the CCP.

Through the many talks we had with the workers in the production units and the workers settlements, the peasants in the people's communes, the party officials in Beijing and in the localities we visited, we saw that the People's Republic of China has made a great historic swing since the third plenary session of the Central Committee which followed the 11th Congress.

The system of responsibility for operation and management implemented in the state enterprises, the collective ownership enterprises launched in order to liberate the workers initiative, as well as the experiment of mixed capital companies attracted our attention in particular.

It should also be noted that as in Mali, it is agriculture which constitutes the basis of the Chinese national economy. Thanks to a perfect mastery of water resources, China has succeeded in assuring its population, which comes to more than a billion inhabitants, of self-sufficiency in food.

I return with the conviction that there is a tremendous potential for trade between our two countries. I hope that such trade will become more frequent and multidimensional, so that cooperation between Mali and China can provide a model of South-South cooperation.

I am very pleased with this trip, which illustrates the great friendship which unites our two people and our two parties.

In addition to the talks we had with Zhang Ganghu, deputy head of the international liaison department of the Central Committee of the CCP, and Wang Zhaohua, deputy head of the organization department of the Central Committee of the CCP, two sumptuous banquets were given for us, the first by Comrade Ji Pengfei, state councilor, and the second by Comrade Li Jiannan, a member of the permanent committee of the political bureau of the Central Committee of the CCP, who gave us precious time from his overcrowded schedule while the National People's Assembly was in session. Forty-eight hours after the banquet, this great friend of the people of Mali and of Gen Moussa Traore--it was he himself who told us this--was elected to the presidency of the People's Republic of China."

In conclusion, Mr Siby thanked the Chinese authorities for their efforts to make his delegation's stay pleasant.

5157

CSO: 3419/1062

BRIEFS

UNFM DELEGATION VISITS USSR--Mrs Dicko Massaran Konate and Mrs Diallo Kankou Diallo, the secretary general and the cultural affairs secretary of the UNFM [National Union of Mali Women], respectively, met with Mrs Valentina Tereshkova, the first woman cosmonaut and president of the Soviet Women's Committee, along with some of her closest colleagues, during a visit to the USSR. After welcoming her guests, Mrs Valentina Tereshkova hailed the efforts of the women of Mali rallied within the UNFM in the national recovery effort. She spoke of the cooperation between Soviet women and the UNFM, which is developing and strengthening daily. Mrs Dicko described this visit by the UNFM as within the context of developing and further strengthening the traditional links of friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Women's Committee and the National Union of Mali Women. Mrs Dicko Massaran then rendered moving homage to the Soviet Women's Committee, whose aid and assistance to the women of Mali is much appreciated. The secretary general of the UNFM described the history of the establishment of her organization, and gave a lengthy explanation of the 1981-83 3-year program, the implementation of which is one of the main concerns of the UNFM. However, Mrs Dicko added, the organization is encountering tremendous difficulties related to transportation problems. It should be noted that the UNFM delegation paid a visit to the Soviet Socialist Republic of Moldavia, where it learned about the organizational work of the women in that republic and the kolkhozes and attended various cultural events. Let us note moreover that the UNFM and the Soviet Women's Committee have identical views on numerous issues of our day, in particular the defense of peace throughout the world. Let us also note that a UNTM [National Union of Mali Workers] delegation headed by Mr Moussa Sissoko, a member of the National Executive Bureau, has been visiting Moscow since 28 May. [By M. Sissoko] [Excerpts] [Bamako L'ESSOR in French 11-12 Jun 83 p 2] 5157

COOPERATION AGREEMENT WITH ALGERIA--One year after the feasibility studies on the Tombouctou and Gao storage centers, drafted free of charge by the sister republic of Algeria, were submitted to the authorities in Mali, the two countries have just signed another protocol of agreement for the implementation of the hydrocarbons storage tanks project in four other regions of the country, to wit, Kayes, Bamako Koulikoro, Sikasso and Mopti. This symbolic gesture reveals the desire of the two governments to promote good neighborly bilateral relations on the one hand, and the constant concern of our government to make every effort to protect our young economy from the consequences of the energy crisis which continues to disturb the entire world, on the other. For this reason, our national enterprise in charge of hydrocarbon

problems, Petrostock, has been assigned the task of distributing storage facilities for hydrocarbons throughout the territory of Mali, in order to protect our people against speculation. The signing ceremony took place at the Ministry of Public Works and was attended by Minister of Transport and Public Works Mamadou Haidara, accompanied by his closest colleagues, Mr Mahamane Alhassane Toure, director general of Petrostock, and a high-level Algerian delegation headed by Mr Kazi Tani, director general of the Algerian National Hydrocarbons Refining and Distribution Enterprise (NAFTAL), who was accompanied by the Algerian ambassador to Mali, His Excellency Ali Abdallaoui. In conclusion, Mr Mamadou Haidara made a point of hailing the aid provided by the Islamic Development Bank, which is financing these studies in the form of a gift to our government. He also expressed the gratitude of the people of Mali to the Algerian FNL party, the people and the government of Algeria for the concern and diligence with which the studies covered by the protocol of agreement will be carried out. This important contract which our two national hydrocarbons enterprises have just signed will without a doubt aid our country to support the heavy burden the energy problem represents more effectively. [By Ousmane Maiga] [Excerpts] [Bamako L'ESSOR in French 25-26 Jun 83 p 5] 5157

CSO: 3419/1062

PM MEETING WITH PRC MISSION REPORTED

Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 16 Jun 83 p 4

[Text] Prime Minister Aneerood Jugnauth met yesterday morning with Chinese technicians who came to Mauritius last Monday in connection with the Plaisance airport improvement project. The Chinese technicians were accompanied by the second secretary of the Embassy of the Peoples Republic of China in Mauritius, Mr Tan, and his attache, Mr Shan.

Also sitting in on the talks were Mr I. Raghoobar, airport projects coordinator in the office of the prime minister; Mr M. Baguant, p.i. [expansion unknown] director of the Plaisance airport; and Mr O. Ramdane, the PAS [expansion unknown] of the prime minister's office (external communications).

The prime minister thanked the Chinese technicians for having responded so quickly to his request. He expressed the hope that work will begin as soon as possible and promised them the full cooperation of Mauritian technicians. The leader of the Chinese team, Mr Xia Boyuan, said to the prime minister that his technicians will work together with the Mauritian authorities and that preliminary talks with Mauritian technicians have already begun. They will go to the site tomorrow to make surveys.

The Chinese team, which will be stationed in Mauritius for the next 4 to 5 months, also paid courtesy calls on the minister of finance, the minister of planning and economic development, and the minister of public works.

9416

CSO: 3419/1030

MAURITIUS

BERENGER PRESIDES AT MMM PRESS CONFERENCE

MMM Party Platform

Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 21 Jun 83 pp 1, 5

[Text] The MMM: "We are a homogeneous team whose competence and sincerity have been proven by the facts."

In case of a victory, M Paul Berenger will assume the position of prime minister and minister of finance.

M Dharma Fokeer is possible deputy prime minister.

At a press conference yesterday afternoon, the present opposition leader, M Paul Berenger, asked the voters to elect a homogeneous MMM team--whose competence and sincerity have been proved by the facts--on the basis of a socialist and realistic platform. "We are asking the Mauritian voters to elect us in large numbers, because the Island of Mauritius needs a strong, unified government for a period of 5 years." If there is an MMM victory, Paul Berenger states that, in addition to prime minister, he would assume the position of minister of finance. M Dharam Fokeer will be deputy prime minister.

"We are facing," M Paul Berenger said, "a heterogeneous, divided team, ashamed even to tell its own name, to say that it really and truly is an MSM [Mauritius Socialist Movement]-PT [Labor Party]- PIM [expansion unknown]-PMSD [Mauritian Social Democratic Party] alliance."

He added, "The whole world, including our enemies, knows that if this alliance wins the next election, it will not last. And new general elections would become inevitable in less than a year after the 21 August ones."

But, according to M Berenger, a homogeneous, strong and stable MMM government will come out of the 21 August elections.

The opposition leader appealed to the MMM's enemies and the general public for the electoral campaign to be calm and civilized, as it was in 1976 and

and 1982--a campaign marked by indispensable political fair play, in the best interests of the country.

"We will vehemently insure that this fair play prevails, especially with regard to MBC [Mauritius Broadcasting Corporation] /TV."

The main theme of the MMM platform will be "for real change,"--"in freedom, non-alignment, national unity and the respect of others." It will also be a platform marked by a policy of economic truthfulness and solidarity with the unemployed and low salaried workers. "Essentially, the MMM platform is the same as the one we supported last year, especially regarding the consolidation of democracy in all its forms and the struggle against corruption and waste."

In terms of economic policy, it will have a reawakening which will preserve the socialist core of our 1982 platform, but at the same time speak the language of truth." "Thus, like last year, our platform favors socialism of a Mauritian type."

This platform, above all, will have solutions to the Mauritian problems, beginning with unemployment.

The MMM will emphasize, moreover, the international role that a multiracial, democratic and non-aligned Island of Mauritius will have to play in the context, on one hand, of its even closer and special relations with India and, on the other hand, regarding the Indian Ocean and southern Africa.

In terms of platform, the MSM- PT- PIM- PMSD alliance is full of contradictions, M Paul Berenger pointed out. "The MSM- PT- PIM- PSMD alliance is trying to get the Mauritian people worried about the IMF [International Monetary Fund], IBRD [World Bank] and the 1983-84 budget, but what is really in store for the government after the next election is a terribly difficult economic situation--a regular volcano, which will have to be subdued in 2 or 3 months.

But, what gives the MMM confidence in spite of that is its team. "We have and will have a team with the capacity for facing the explosive problems that the MSM government will leave behind." It is a team which was at M Paul Berenger's press conference yesterday, namely, the eleven resigning ministers, joined by the speaker, president and secretary general of the MMM, as well as Messrs Seenyen, Ruhee and Jawaheer, "who are now on the MMM team, having asked to join the MMM." Each of us is proud of belonging to that team, and we will work as a team tomorrow within the government."

Besides that, the MMM is examining the likelihood of there being a Ministry of the Interior and Regional Administrations.

The opposition leader had a special word for Rodrigues. "It is likely that the MMM will not have any candidates there and, like last year, we will make our presence known in the electoral campaign. We have to say to the people of Rodrigues that Rodrigues will always occupy a special place."

For M Paul Berenger, this election is a return to beginnings. "As in 1969, during the most difficult times, and during a 14-year struggle, the MMM again finds itself alone, but it has the workers and youth, opposing those who, in the past, voted for the IRA [Industrial Relations Act] and the POA [Public Order Act]; upset the elections; plunged the country into waste and corruption; those who sold off Diego Garcia, forcibly caused debt and devaluation, and who today are joined by the traitors who now speak of 'wildcat strikes' and claim that the 1971-72 repression and the political prisons of those years were justified." Shame on them! As for us, we know that history is on our side and are calmly and serenely approaching the elections and preparing to assume the weighty responsibilities at an especially difficult time for our country."

[Question] M Ramduth Jaddoo recently made certain serious allegations against the MMM. What do you say to this?

[Answer] We do not share the value judgments made by M Jaddoo. The MMM is concerned with the future, not refuting certain aspects of the past.

[Question] In case it becomes difficult to determine a parliamentary majority after the elections, can we avoid a government of national salvation?

[Answer] We are not asking that question. We are confident that the MMM will obtain a solid majority in the next elections. We are going to the elections by ourselves to rule the government by ourselves.

[Question] Is it known by what criteria and what process the 60 candidates of the MMM will be chosen?

[Answer] The process is one of consultation and give and take between the politburo and the 20 regional committees. After this process, the central committee is called on to make a decision, and the assembly of delegates must ratify or amend the list of candidates appointed by the central committee.

As for the criteria, it is clear that at this time priority is being given to the rank and file party members and its fighting wing, but there will also be some intellectuals and professionals whose duties prevented them from being active up to now.

[Question] To what extent will the MMM platform include the document of the Left's unions entitled, "Let the struggle continue?"

[Answer] That document has been studied with an open mind, but a critical one as well. Besides, we are open to any good ideas, no matter what their source. A meeting is being planned between the MMM leadership and the Left's union federations to discuss that very document.

[Question] How would you define the budget which you will possibly be called upon to propose?

[Answer] It is one which corresponds to the economic conditions of the present time, but which will promote as much as possible solidarity with the unemployed, low salaried workers, pensioners, the widowed, orphans, planters, small self-employed--all those with whom the MMM has always struggled.

[Question] What is your feeling about the country's economy since 22 March?

[Answer] The MSM government is only bluffing, and is leaving behind an even more fragile economic situation than the one we inherited in June 1982.

Further Details

Port Louis L'EXPRESS in French 21 Jun 82 p 7

[Excerpt] [Question] How would you define the budget which a possible MMM government will be called on to propose?

[Answer] It is a budget dictated by the economic conditions of the time, but which will also promote as much as possible solidarity with the unemployed, low salaried workers, pensioners, the widowed, orphans, planters, the small self-employed, all those with whom the MMM has always struggled.

In answer to other questions, M Berenger said that the MMM will run alone in the elections to rule the government by itself. In the next few days, the leaders will meet the Left's union federations, especially the GWF [General Workers Federation], the FPBU [Federation of Parastatal Bodies Union] and the FTU [United Federation of Workers] to discuss the document of those associations entitled, "Let the struggle continue."

A possible MMM government, he says, will renew contacts with the IMF and the IBRD soon after a victory in the next general elections, but will do so after examining the commitments made by the MSM government to those two institutions, commitments which the present government refuses to make known and about which it refuses to tell the whole truth.

The politburo and the central committee of the MMM today will be looking into M V Jundoosigh's request to join the party again.

9475

CSO: 3419/1033

CHANGES IN MMM 'SHADOW CABINET' OUTLINED

Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 25 Jun 83 pp 1, 4

[Text] The present speaker of the Legislative Assembly, Allan Ganoo, has been promoted to the rank of "minister" of the interior in the MMM's "shadow cabinet." The announcement to the press was made yesterday by Paul Berenger, who is himself prime minister in the MMM "shadow cabinet" and who was accompanied by Dharam Fokeer, vice prime minister in the phantom cabinet, Jean-Claude de L'Estrac (Foreign Affairs), Cassam Uteem and Allan Ganoo.

Until now, the Ministry of the Interior has always been attached to the office of the prime minister. If an MMM government were to emerge from the next general elections, that ministry would be detached from it for the first time, but in return the prime minister would assume responsibility for a new ministry, Economy and Finance.

Mr Berenger explained to the press that the MMM, whose political bureau met yesterday, arrived, after much reflection, at the conclusion that in the present system "too much power is concentrated solely in the hands of the prime minister." He continued, "That is why we previously recommended, and why we still recommend a republic along Mauritian lines, with a certain division of powers between the prime minister and the president of the republic."

He stated that the MMM discussed several possible names for the presidency of a potential republic, just as it is discussing the make-up of its "shadow cabinet."

In the case of an MMM vice prime minister, the person holding that post would also be responsible for the Ministry of Education (at present, the outgoing vice prime minister, Harish Boodhoo, holds the Cooperatives portfolio).

When Mr Berenger announced the MMM's decision to entrust the Ministry of the Interior in a potential MMM government to Allan Ganoo, 32, attorney, speaker of the Legislative Assembly since June 1982, a candidate for the next elections in Riviere-Noire/Savane, he stated that the public office will also be attached to that ministry, which will give "Mr Ganoo heavy responsibilities in an MMM government." He will be responsible for everything having to do with security in

general, Mr Berenger stated, which means that Mr Ganoo would be responsible for information services.

Concerning the candidates' list, Mr Berenger stated that "some changes are still possible." Today the political bureau will make recommendations as to the candidates for the central committee.

8946

CSO: 3419/1073

MMM PLANS FOR GOVERNMENT REPORTED

Port Louis L'EXPRESS in French 7 Jul 83 pp 1, 7

[Text] The MMM yesterday informed the leaders of the Mauritius Taxpayers' Association (MTPA) that it sees a possibility of splitting the Ministry of Finance into a Ministry of the Economy and a Ministry of the Budget.

According to information provided at the meeting for pre-election consultation between the MTPA and the various political parties, the MMM leadership explained that the Budget Ministry as now conceived by the MMM, will be responsible for preparing and "monitoring" the national budget, while a Ministry of the Economy will be occupied with day-to-day economic problems, while taking into account the needs and daily difficulties of business firms.

It was made clear, however, that no decision has yet been taken on this matter by the MMM.

If the Finance Ministry were to be split, the various economic and budgetary aspects would be entrusted to three distinct ministries: Economy, the Budget and Planning, which would keep its present functions.

Sources close to the MMM have let it be known that such a plan is currently being studied, in the light of the experience acquired during the 9 months when that party's ministers participated in the first government of Anerood Jugnauth.

The MMM also said that it will seek new discussions with the IMF if it wins in the next elections, before completing the 1983-1984 budget, and that trade union organizations and the taxpayers' association will also be consulted.

In addition, conversations between the MTPA officials and the MMM leadership dealt with the memorandum recently submitted by that association to the Finance Ministry, concerning in particular the "Pay as you Earn" and "Domestic Servants Relief" proposals.

On the first point, according to Jean Pierre Hoareau, the MTPA president, the MMM indicated that in principle it was against such a measure and that the plan would be pigeon-holed. As for the "Employers' Deduction System" that the Finance Ministry was proposing to introduce for fiscal 1983-1984 on the IMF's recommendation, the MMM officers "condemned the MSM [Mauritius Socialist

Movement] government's way of going about it" and said that the question will be examined with the sectors concerned before any decision is taken.

The MTPA, on the other hand, brought up tax evasion and suggested that a commission be set up to look into the question.

The MMM leadership, "while receiving this suggestion favorably," demanded more precise information from the MTPA, especially concerning its prerogatives and its make-up.

As far as the DSR [Special Drawing Rights] is concerned, the MMM indicated that it would be disposed to consider introducing it, and that the MTPA will be consulted beforehand.

On the other hand, Mr Hoareau emphasized that the MTPA has asked for meetings with the MMM, the MSM-PT [Labor Party] alliance and the PMSD [Mauritian Social Democratic Party] for the purpose of obtaining these three parties' point of view before the elections, on questions of interest to all taxpayers.

The association, he added, is awaiting confirmation from the other two parties.

After the consultations, the MTPA proposes to meet with the press to keep its members up to date on the tenor of the talks.

8946

CSO: 3419/1073

MAURITIUS

OMT, FNAS REPLACE LALIT WORKERS, ANTI-SOMAZ NATIONAL FRONT

Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 20 Jun 83 pp 1, 8

[Text] At a party congress held yesterday at the Mary Queen of Peace Social Center in Port Louis—a congress described as "historic" by several in attendance--delegates of the "Lalit Workers" and the National Anti-Somaz Front re-named their organizations: Lalit Workers has become OMT, "Militant Workers Organization," and the Front has become the "National Anti-Suffering Front." "We have kept the middle 'M' in the MMM [Mauritian Militant Movement], according to leaders of the two organizations, who explained how they will operate.

The new FNAS, as a front, will bring together all the workers, the jobless and the poor who want to "strike a blow" on behalf of the working class people who evidently no longer want to count on Moses and instead want to take their destiny and their struggle into their own hands. But it will be those who have proven their militancy who will be admitted into the OMT, which will move gradually toward the stage of being a mass revolutionary party. The officials of the two bodies have not been designated, because the two organizations have not yet decided what line to adopt with respect to the upcoming elections. These issues will be the subject of an in-depth discussion at all levels of the two organizations in a united effort to let the party ranks once again play to the fullest extent possible their proper role.

To emphasize the fact that the FNAS from now on rejects the idea of a "savior," of a leader who knows everything and is the only voice of the party, the chairs yesterday were arranged in concentric circles around a central table near which various militants took the floor. Chairing the congress was Yvon Pauline, and speakers included Neville Meetoo, Ramsass Sooriah, Jocelyn Rene, Nasser Gooder, Anwar Beekun and Dev Ramano. The speeches, and the historical and ideological analyses underlined the necessity for the workers to take charge of their own affairs, because leaders have a tendency to use the people for their own ends. It is not a question of beginning the struggle anew, said Dev Ramano, but of picking up the torch which has been dropped by parties and individuals who have betrayed the struggle.

Yvon Pauline described the MMM as having deviated toward class collaboration, because it has been captured by petty bourgeois intellectuals. Ramdass

Sooriah went even further, saying that compromise has always brought fascism to power. Sooriah said that the MMM is not democratic anymore, and that the "labaz" [translation unknown] militants are "reduced to billstickers" who do nothing but take orders from their leaders. The current policy of the MMM is a social-democratic policy which does not promote the interests of the workers.

Speaking on the subject of the labor movement in Mauritius, Jocelyn Rene said that the MMM/PSM/OPR [Mauritian Militant Movement/ Mauritian Socialist Party/ Organization of the Rodrigues People] government has done nothing to rescind the IRA [Industrial Relations Act] and that today sectarianism is being exploited for political ends. The leaders are using the workers as springboards for their own ambitions. Labor leaders have not reacted against unpopular measures. The GWF [General Workers Federation] and the, TU [United Workers Federation] have endorsed the government.

After the break-up of the MMM, the labor confederations have a taste for partisan politics. The GWF is currently allied with the MMM, and the FTU is aligned with the MSM [Mauritius Socialist Movement]. The workers are not consulted, and their desires are ignored, according to Ramdass Sooriah. This is why the workers must find a new course and move toward the creation of a revolutionary movement. The FNAS is committed to that, and has begun its march toward socialist enlightenment.

Nasser Gooder, a union activist in the textile sector, ridiculed the anti-layoff law, which is nothing but a law consigning workers to starvation after a 120-day reprieve. It is because of this kind of trumpery that the FNAS has decided from now on not to rely on others and to pursue its own struggle against the capitalists from within a real workers party. According to Anwar Beekun, the FNAS has been struggling against collaboration ever since its creation. Henceforth it will work for the creation of a revolutionary party that will uphold the banner of direct democracy and self-managing socialism. The speaker denounced the "MMM's campaign tactics" and the resulting change in its rhetoric. All this requires the existence of a workers' party.

Dev Ramano, for his part, raised his voice against the austerity the parties are asking the people to accept. Paul Berenger, Place, Monsignor Margeot and Freddy Appasamy in a PROSI [expansion unknown] editorial are all saying the same thing. The workers must reject that and make their voices heard. A new kind of party is needed, a party with a new spirit. There are no doctors or lawyers or university conference chairmen in the FNAS to take the place of the workers. The FNAS is open to all those with a grievance against the capitalists. The social-democratic policy the government has carried out for the last 9 months has forced the workers to the wall and consolidated the position and the class solidarity of the "haves." The members of the MMM/PSM/OPR government have been the real tools of the PMSD [Mauritian Democratic Party] and the Labor Party [PT], making their resurrection possible. It was this state of affairs which caused the FNAS to raise its voice against the holding of new elections. The workers might still press to

have their voices heard, despite the split. Both sides would have voted for popular measures. But the workers stand to lose everything if the PT and the PMSD make a comeback. It is unfortunate that many Mauritians have not understood this and have demanded elections that will set back the workers' cause.

"But now that elections are coming, we have to be involved in them one way or another," said Dev Ramano. But the FNAS has not yet decided what it will do. First of all its members will discuss the question, and then they will get to work and get out on the street. It is true that the workers are discouraged, the speaker said, but their confidence must be regained. This is why the FNAS refuses to put down its arms and is moving toward the creation of a party that will give the people new hope.

9516

CSO: 3419/1032

GENERAL WORKERS FEDERATION DENOUNCES MSM, LP, PMSD ALLIANCE

Port Louis LE NOUVEAU MILITANT in French 17 Jun 83 pp 1, 4

[Text] The General Workers Federation (GWF) denounces the fascist alliance of the MSM [Mauritius Socialist Movement], the PTr [Labor Party], and the PMSD [Mauritian Social Democratic Party] as a danger to the working class in Mauritius. This will be the law of fascism, said France Soopramanien, president of the GWF, who was surrounded by the members of the executive committee of the trade union, namely Gaetan Pillay, Rajoo Tirvengadam, Nabe Fortuno, Cyril Hubert, and Mario Flore. In the face of the development of the political situation, the GWF will invite the Federation of Parastatal Bodies (FPBU) and the United Workers' Federation (FTU), to have an official meeting with the MMM [Mauritian Militant Movement].

As a result of the political crisis, the GWF had insisted on maintaining a position of neutrality. The development of the political situation requires that the GWF make the workers aware of all the elements of this situation and of the danger it represents for the future, said France Soopramanien. "We must take a stand because history will record the stand taken by everyone", he added.

All the workers face an historic fact. The GWF never imagined that people like Bhayat, Bibi, and Dulloo could have acted in such a way. "It's unthinkable that anyone could be found to ally themselves with Rangoolam, Ringadoo, Boolell and, even worse, Duval", said the president of the GWF.

Freed

From this point of view, France Soopramanien said he personally was freed of a great burden. As a leftist trade union organization, the GWF cannot accept those who created the IRA [The Industrial Relations Act] and the POA [The Public Order Act]. The GWF cannot remain tongue-tied before the enemies of the working class.

This is a danger for all the workers, all the more so because the rule of fascism will be born, if it has not already been born. The GWF took the initiative of inviting the FPBU and the FTU to a meeting with the MMM [Mauritian Militant Movement] on neutral ground to discuss the program "May the Struggle Go On".

Speaking of the 1982/83 budget, France Soopramanien said that all members of parliament, including those of the MSM today, had approved it. Afterwards there was much demagoguery, particularly over the price of rice and flour and the Rs 57 million. The GWF was the first trade union organization to come out against this budget, added Soopramanien. After the break, there were several promises, particularly by the prime minister, on the slogan "people's and socialist budget".

Popular

Today the prime minister stated that the 1983/84 budget will not be presented due to the absence of a majority.

The GWF does not see how a "popular and socialist" budget cannot be approved by the MMM, which, moreover, voted in favor of the nationalization, obligatory acquisition of individual autobuses, of the Cargo Handling Corporation and of the Rs 57 million, recalled the president of the GWF.

More Severe

If the budget has not been presented, the reason is that the budget of the IMF is not at all a people's budget and is much more severe than that of 1982/83. Aneerod Jugnauth uses a facile argument. It is an electoral tactic imposed on the MSM, thinks the GWF. The trade union headquarters insists that the Statement of Development Policy be published.

With regard to wage compensation, the GWF asks that the government legislate it, although the trade union headquarters is not in agreement on the amount. It is obvious to the GWF that some employers, by their very nature, will refuse to pay wage compensation, despite the election promise of the government to legislate it in September. France Soopramanien then wondered whether the decision of the government to recover the Rs 57 million from the sugar industry is not a roundabout way of making the workers pay the Rs 57 million.

The GWF says that it is shameful to see rightist politicians attacking Litra Limitee. The trade union headquarters fully agrees with the statement of Jack Bizlall to fight these politicians, enemies of the workers.

6108

CSO: 3419/1031

PUBLIC DEBT FIGURES ANALYZED

Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 25 Jun 83 pp 1, 5

[Text] Between now and the end of this year the public debt of Mauritius is likely to go to 9.5 billion rupees. The total debt last March was 7,784,9 million before the government obtained loans totaling 1.7 billion rupees: from the International Monetary Fund [IMF], (600 million rupees); from the World Bank (450 million rupees); and from the Paris Advisory Group (about 650 million rupees). Already, for the period December 1982-March 1983, the public debt has increased by 342 million rupees.

In the economic table for March, the Ministry of Finance indicates that the foreign debt as of 31 December 1982 was on the order of 5,799,700 rupees, distributed as follows: direct government loans, 3,474,400; loans guaranteed by the government, 413.5 million rupees; withdrawals from the IMF, 1,912,200 million rupees. These loans can be "categorized" according to the following table:

Pound sterling: 262.2 million rupees
 American dollar: 2 657,200 million rupees
 Dinar (Kuwait): 29.4 million rupees
 Indian rupee: 149.1 million rupees
 South African rand: 25.3 million rupees
 French franc: 460 million rupees
 Units of account--BAD [African Development Bank]: 182.7 million rupees
 Units of account--EEC: 96.2 million rupees
 SDR [Special Drawing Rights]: 1,912,200,000 rupees
 Total: 5,776,300,000 rupees (not including a loan of 23.4 million rupees in American dollars and in European units of account obtained by the Development Bank from the European Investment Bank).

As of 31 March 1983, the foreign debt amounted to 5,857,900,000 rupees. Payments for the period July-December 1982 totaled 431.5 million rupees. We emphasize here that 60 percent of the foreign debt represents loans obtained in American dollars.

As for the domestic debt, it went from 1.643 million rupees in December 1982 to 9,926,800,000 rupees in March 1983, chiefly because of the creation of new

"Development Loan Stocks" worth 250 million rupees and the introduction of bearer bonds. According to the Ministry of Finance, the domestic debt as of last 31 December was established as follows:

1. Development Loan Stocks 1973-1983: 15 million rupees;
2. Top Loan Stocks: 7.6 million rupees;
3. Five-year Treasury Certificates: 0.1 million rupees;
4. Seven-year Treasury Certificates: 11.5 million rupees;
5. Development Loan Stocks: 1.609 million rupees.

Moreover, the table gives an indication of the loans obtained by Mauritius as of 31 December 1982. The largest lenders of funds are the IMF, 1,912,200,000 rupees; private banks, 1,528,100,000 rupees; the World Bank, 438.9 million rupees; the Central Fund for Economic Cooperation, 335.6 million rupees; the IDA, 220.7 million rupees; and the British government, 210.4 million rupees.

8946

CSO: 3419/1074

DEFICIT TRADE BALANCE REPORTED

Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 6 Jul 83 pp 1, 7

[Text] The deficit in the balance of trade for Mauritius for the period January-April 1983 was 239 million rupees, 32 million rupees less than the deficit for the same period in 1982. For the first 4 months of this year, imports cost 1,657,000 rupees, while exports amounted to only 1,418,000 million rupees. This was revealed by the economic table for April, published this week by the Ministry of Finance.

According to the ministry, the balance of trade deficit went to 456 million rupees 2 months before the end of the financial year 1982-1983. From July 1981 to April 1982, the deficit was on the order of 620 million rupees. For the month of April 1983 alone, the balance of trade left a deficit of 116 million rupees. Imports to Mauritius amounted to 478 million rupees (CIF [cost, insurance and freight] prices), including petroleum products (117 million rupees), rice (22 million), cement (14.3 million rupees) and machinery (11 million rupees). Revenues from our exports (FOB [free on board] prices) were 327 million rupees, including 216 million for sugar and 9 million rupees for tea. The "ships' stores and bunkers" item accounted for 35 million rupees.

The economic bulletin indicates that foreign currency reserves as of 30 April 1983 were 647.3 million rupees, distributed as follows: Bank of Mauritius, 577.2 million rupees; government, 1.9 million rupees; constituent bodies, 4.4 million rupees; and commercial banis, 63.8 million rupees. As of the same date in 1982, the reserves were shown to be 272.1 million rupees.

After registering a surplus during the first quarter, the government's budget showed a deficit of 46.9 million rupees in April. The state's revenues for the month reached 217.7 million rupees, including 30.4 million rupees from the stamp duty on imports, 71.7 million rupees from customs, 17.4 million rupees from the income tax, 19.2 million rupees from sales tax and 12.9 million rupees in the form of loans from foreign sources. Disbursements amounted to 264.6 million rupees, including 192 million rupees for the operating and development budgets, 53.9 million rupees for paying the interest on the debt, 8.6 million rupees for the Development Works Corporation and 7.8 million rupees as a contribution to the National Pension Plan. The 1982-1983 budget deficit was revised and in April was estimated to be 683.7 million rupees, compared to 684.6 million rupees for 1981-1982. Thus it may be seen that there is no great improvement in terms of reducing the budgetary deficit.

As far as the public debt is concerned, the Finance Ministry's estimates indicate that it was calculated at 7,780,300 rupees (5,852,500 million for foreign debt and 1,927,800 rupees for the domestic debt) in April. Servicing the foreign debt for the financial year 1982-1983 would cost 816.5 million, compared to 421.2 million rupees in 1981-1982. The situation was shown as follows:

	Rupees--in millions
July 1982-1983.....	18.7
August.....	4.7
September.....	4.8
October.....	28.1
November.....	207.0
December.....	128.4
January.....	14.4
February.....	4.8
March.....	9.5
April.....	41.1
May.....	173.0
	(estimate)
June.....	182.0
	(estimate)
<hr/> TOTAL	<hr/> 816.5

Mauritius exported 196,864 tons of sugar between January and April 1983, and its receipts were approximately 761.8 million rupees. The figures for the period July 1982-April 1983 were, respectively, 527,638 tons and 2,238,000 rupees. Local sugar consumption for the first 4 months of the year was 11,628 tons. The Ministry of Finance plans to provide more exact indications on the current cane harvest and sugar production in its May bulletin.

Approximately 40,800 tourists visited Mauritius between January and April, 1,800 more than in the same period of 1982. There were 8,700 tourists in April, which represents a reduction of 1,300. Tourist revenues for the 4 months amounted to 183.7 million rupees (compared to 171.9 million in 1982). Between July 1982 and April 1983, 104,700 visitors were welcomed; they brought about 400 million rupees into the country.

8946
CSO: 3419/1074

FIRST QUARTER FREE ZONE REVENUES LISTED

Port Louis L'EXPRESS in French 23 Jun 83 p 7

[Text] The rate of growth of export revenue from the manufacturing free zone for the first quarter of the current year (January to March) compares unfavorably with growth rates in the two previous years.

In fact, according to initial figures recently published and contained in the economic report for the month of March, free zone revenues for the first 3 months of this year amounted to 249.2 million rupees, compared to 224.6 million rupees for the corresponding period last year.

This performance shown by the manufacturing free zone for the first quarter of this year means that export revenues from the free zone were up by some 11 percent over the period from January to March 1982.

The revenue growth rates for the first quarters of 1982 and 1981 respectively were 16.3 percent and 20 percent.

In current rupees, the free zone export situation was as follows:

<u>Period</u>	<u>Exports</u>	<u>Imports</u>	<u>Net Revenues</u>
Jan-Mar 1980	160.6 million	124.4 million	+ 36.2 million
Jan-Mar 1981	193.1 million	183.6 million	+ 9.5 million
Jan-Mar 1982	224.6 million	181.3 million	+ 43.3 million
Jan-Mar 1983	249.2 million	185.1 million	+ 64.1 million

The contribution of the garment-making (textile) sector to overall free zone revenues during the first quarter of the current year was on the order of 60 percent. Free zone exports accounted for close to 26 percent of the total of Mauritian exports during the abovementioned period.

It should be recalled that according to the "targets" established in the document entitled "A Programme of Structural Adjustment" circulated at the meeting of the consultative group in Paris, export revenues from the manufacturing free zone were supposed to reach the level of 33 percent of overall export earnings in 1983, and continue up to 35 percent by the end of 1985.

But optimism still reigns in official circles in the free zone. This, according to someone in those circles, is because the peak period for free zone exports is from May to October.

For the first 9 months of the current fiscal year (July 1982 to March 1983), gross export revenues from the free zone amounted to 876.1 million rupees.

Net export earnings from the free zone were up slightly, by 12.3 million rupees. They amounted to 348.1 million rupees in the corresponding period of 1982, compared to 360.4 million rupees for the period from July 1982 to March 1983.

The first three months of the current year have not brought any signs of a resumption of activity in the area of new investments in the manufacturing free zone.

"The investment outlook for the manufacturing sector in 1983 is rather below expectations," according to the economic report for March. As one indication, the authorities note that "the rate of new incoming project applications has been lower than during the last quarter of 1982."

The decline in the number of jobs [in the zone], about 1,300 for the period between July 1982 and March 1983 (L'EXPRESS of 6 June 1983), was officially confirmed in the same Finance Ministry document.

Geographic Distribution of Free Zone Production Units (December 1982)

Plaine Lauzun	22
Curepipe, Forest Side and Floreal	19
Coromandel, Petite Riviere	15
Goodlands, Mapou and Fond du Sac	12
Vacoas and Phoenix	8
Triolet and Terre Rouge	6
Pailles and Bell Village	6
Port Louis	5
Beau Bassin Rose Hill and Mont Roches	4
Flacq	3
St Pierre and Moka	10
Others	-
TOTAL	118

9516

CSO: 3419/1030

BRIEFS

BUDGET DEFICIT--The budgetary deficit for the first 9 months of the current [fiscal] year is 220.8 million rupees, compared to a budgetary deficit of 546.1 million rupees for the same period of 1981/1982. The period of January to March showed a surplus of 544 million rupees. This good budgetary performance in the first quarter is officially explained by the energy reform measures taken by the then-finance minister, Mr Paul Berenger. "The fiscal measures adopted since June 1982 are obviously yielding significant results," according to official documents. According to official estimates made at the end of March, the budgetary deficit for the current fiscal year could reach somewhere near 775 million rupees by the end of the period. [Text] [Port Louis L'EXPRESS in French 23 Jun 83 p 1] 9516

ELECTORAL COMMISSION STATISTICS--562,684 voters will go to the polls in the upcoming general elections. There were 5,200 new voters registered between 2-16 May. A high official in the office of the Electoral Commission told THE NATION yesterday that if the government uses the old voters' lists, the 5,200 new voters will automatically be excluded. That would reduce the number of eligible voters to 557,484. However, publication of the new voters' lists, which was initially scheduled for 15 September, could be advanced, in case the government decides to permit the 5,200 new voters to cast their ballots. Preparations for the general election are well advanced in the office of the Electoral Commission. More than 7,000 people will be recruited by the Electoral Commission to conduct these elections, which will cost the country 14 million rupees. [Excerpt] [Port Louis THE NATION in French 14 Jun 83 p 1] 9516

DELEGATION TO MOSCOW SEMINAR--Two high-ranking officials will participate in an international seminar on cooperatives that is to be held in Moscow 21-27 June. This seminar, organized by the USSR Cooperatives Union, is for the benefit of cooperative movement officials in the developing countries. The two Mauritian participants will be Mr P. Chan Kin, permanent secretary in the Ministry of Information and Cooperatives, and Mr Dookhoony, president of the Federation of Agricultural Cooperatives. [Text] [Port LE MAURICIEN in French 17 Jun 83 p 5] 9516

UNEMPLOYMENT FIGURES--About 60 percent of the individuals who have been registered as jobless with the placement office are between 15 and 24 years of age. An Employment Ministry report on the unemployment situation

indicates that at the end of February 44,847 of the 75,277 people registered as unemployed were less than 25 years old. The same report discloses that the number of job-seekers went from 79,837 in December 1982 to 79,892 in February 1983, with 4,615 people desiring to obtain a better job. The Employment Ministry says that 28,016 people were looking for their first job, compared to 27,997 in December 1982. Of the 75,277 persons registered as jobless, 54,206 (around 72 percent) are males. The majority of them, some 46,084, have not gone beyond Sixth [Form] in school. One also sees from this report that 9,587 job-seekers have at least attained the level of Cambridge School Certificate. Also, the report reveals that the number of jobless increased by 11,513 between February 1982 and February 1983. [Text] [Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French 20 Jun 83 p 1] 9516

CSO: 3419/1030

BRIEFS

CCCE CREDIT TO SENELEC--Dakar (AFP)--The Central Fund for Economic Cooperation (CCCE) of France has granted a credit of 2 billion CFA francs to Senegal to finance an urgent investment program of the National Electricity Corporation (SENELEC). This was learned in Dakar yesterday. The program includes construction of a power station at Tambacounda (in the eastern part of the country), a new high-tension line between Dakar and Thies (70 kilometers north), and improvement of the Dakar electricity network. The credit agreement was signed in Dakar by Mamadou Toure, Senegalese minister of economy and finance, and Jean Charpentier, director of the CCCE. Also, France has granted Senegal, through the Cooperation Mission, credits of 277.5 million CFA francs to carry out projects in agriculture (experiments with peanut harvests) and mining (prospecting for phosphates in the northern and south central areas). These agreements were signed by Mamadou Toure and Georges Martres, head of the French Cooperation Mission. [Text] [Niamey LE SAHEL in French 16 Jun 83 p 4] 9920

CSO: 3419/1042

ARTICLE EXAMINES FINANCE MINISTER'S BUDGET SPEECH

London WEST AFRICA in English No 3439, 11 Jul 83 p 1600

[Article by Eddie Monmoh]

[Text]

SIERRA LEONE'S Minister of Finance, Mr. Salia Jusu-Sheriff, has presented to Parliament the Budget for 1983-84, the third since he took office less than one year ago. Probably, the most welcome feature of Mr. Jusu-Sheriff's Budget speech, is the increase in salaries and wages for public officers and pensioners. This increase will range from 10 per cent at the top of the scale to 30 per cent at the bottom, with an overall average increase of 20 per cent on last year's Budget provisions for personal emoluments. This increase is with effect from July 1, this year.

Mr. Jusu-Sheriff pointed out that over the years government had devised various measures to increase tax revenue but these had never properly worked out. The emphasis in the forthcoming financial year, he said, would therefore be on collection rather than on new measures, and he proposed no new taxes in this year's Budget. His forecast last year of a fall in

the estimated budgetary deficit from Le236.7m. to Le144.85m. did not quite reach its mark. Actual data for the first 11 months and a projection for the balance of the fiscal year, indicate that the actual deficit for 1982-83 is now estimated as Le191m. This departure from the target deficit, said the minister, was due mainly to a drastic shortfall in revenue of about Le50m. during the year, the introduction of the two-tier exchange rate arrangements, and the decision by the government to liquidate Le30m. worth of accumulated arrears to domestic creditors which figure had not been taken into account when the target for the deficit was set. The total expenditure estimate for 1983-84 is now Le537.9m. (compared with Le393.43m. previously) while the total from income, revenue and grants is expected to come to Le327.9m., an improvement of about Le79m. over the October figure of Le248.58m.

CSO: 3400/1663

BRIEFS

GOLD EXPORT LIBERALIZATION--Apart from the two provincial centres, Koidu and Tonkolili, established recently by the Bank of Sierra Leone for the buying of gold, the government, according to Central Bank Governor Dr Jim Funna, is now considering modifying its monopoly in the export of gold. This measure will give export licence to gold dealers and allow exporters to retain a part of their proceeds in foreign exchange while the balance is taken by government. The government hopes that this measure will ameliorate smuggling with profits accruing to both parties. "I am saying that we feel when people smuggle," said Dr Funna, "it is because they feel by selling to us, they only get leones while they want foreign currency." [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English No 3439, 11 Jul 83 p 1620]

NIGERIAN STAKE IN GUINEAN IRON ORE--Nigeria has increased its stake in the mining of Guinea's iron ore deposits to 16.2 percent, Nigerian Minister of Mines and Power, Alhaji Mohammed Hassan, has said. Nigeria had acquired 13.2 percent of the shares of Mifergui--Nimba the Guinean iron ore company, in 1981; this year it acquired a further 3 percent. The country's total investment so far is N7.74m. Mifergui, which will exploit iron ore deposits in the Nimba mountain in Guinea will supply Nigeria 4m. tonnes of ore annually for use in its steel industry, Hassan said. [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English No 3439, 11 Jul 83 p 1620]

GLOOM AND HOPE--The budget speech which Mr Salia Jusu-Sheriff delivered to the Sierra Leone Parliament almost seems like a repeat performance of what he said two times last year shortly after assuming the finance portfolio: there is still the picture of gloom and hope. It is grim and gloomy because the conditions which continue to hinder Sierra Leone's economic growth still very much exist; but, to the extent that a greater part of these woes are domestic, the solution can also lie at home. Measures like the Presidential Committee on smuggling to set its economic house in order must be seen to be operating, its powers to deport and prohibit must be seen to work too. Smuggling is the "most vexed question" said Mr Jusu-Sheriff and will continue to "frustrate government economic efforts," unless government itself with little more effort puts into effect what it has been saying for a long time. Meanwhile the increase in wages and salaries for public officers and pensioners is the most gladdening piece of news in many homes for a long time. For while the cost of living continued soaring, the average wages in the country stagnated. It is also worthy of note that, in the face of repeated claims of fraud and misappropriations of chiefdom funds, government has proposed to decentralise Chiefdom accounts. This will no doubt help the local people to intensify revenue collection and to be more actively involved in the disbursement of funds. [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English No 3439, 11 Jul 83 p 1592]

BRIEFS

DROUGHT RELIEF MEASURE--JOHANNESBURG--Thousands of donkeys were shot by the Bophuthatswana police and army last week as the Government implemented an emergency drought relief plan to eliminate "idle" donkeys. The donkeys are to be destroyed because of the growing shortage of grazing as the drought ravages the country. "We only adopted this measure as a last resort," said Mr Nick Seobi, deputy secretary for agriculture. "We want to cut Bophuthatswana's donkey population down to a fair minimum. People will be allowed to keep their donkeys only if they can prove to the police they absolutely need them. "But the donkeys that we are really after are the ones which roam around the country, doing no work and having no real owners." He said the culling operation would last about two weeks. Donkeys cost about R15 a head in Bophuthatswana, but the Government is not offering compensation. Instead, it is offering to put owners in touch with both local and foreign companies, including one Israeli firm, which wanted to buy the donkeys dead or alive. "We realise that in the short term this operation may have adverse effects on the donkey owners, but in the long term it will prove very beneficial," Mr Seobi said. A policeman taking part in the culling said police had been ordered to shoot stray or unattended donkeys on sight. "I feel very bad for the donkeys and their owners, but orders are orders," he said. Most plot owners around Mafikeng agreed the operation was necessary, although they were concerned that it might not be carried out fairly. [Text] [Port Elizabeth EVENING POST in English 27 Jun 83 p 5]

CSO: 5000/212

SOKOINE STRESSES POLICY TO FOSTER GOOD RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORS

Dar es Salaam SUNDAY NEWS in English 10 Jul 83 p 1

[Article by Acadoga Chiledi]

[Text] PRIME Minister Edward Sokoine has stressed that it was the policy of the Party and Government to foster good relations between Tanzania and its neighbours.

Speaking to Longido residents in Arusha Region yesterday, Ndugu Sokoine said the break-up of the East African Community in 1977 and the subsequent border closure between Kenya and Tanzania did not mean there was enmity between the countries.

The Prime Minister said: "We must accept that the community is dead and that we should start afresh, adding: "It is the policy of the Party and Government to build and maintain good relations between Tanzania and its neighbours".

He suggested the establishment of diplomatic relations between Tanzania and Kenya as a way towards such relations.

He said livestock auctions should be established between

Tanzania and Kenya as one of the ways to bring about trade relations between the two as well as combating cattle rustling on the common border.

"Some people ask: When is Tanzania going to open the border? The border closure should not be used as a pretext against the establishing legal trade between the two countries", he said.

He said people asking such questions are the enemies of Africa, who "don't want a stable developed and united Africa".

Uganda, another member of the defunct community had established a joint commission for co-operation, with Tanzania and their common border is open.

On security then on the border with Kenya, the Prime Minister, said: "We have no cause to station forces on the border. We shall only set up units, against cattle rustlers and racketeers.

Ndugu Sokoine, who is MP for Monduli, is on a short working visit to his constituency.

CSO: 3400/661

THREE STATE FARMS INCUR LOSSES DURING 1981-82 FISCAL YEAR

Dar es Salaam SUNDAY NEWS in English 10 Jul 83 p 3

[Text]

THREE state farms suffered deficits totalling 181.1 million shillings during the 1981-82 financial year, the National Assembly was told in Dar es Salaam yesterday.

The National Food and Agriculture Corporation (NAFCO) had a deficit of 1.2 million shillings, the Tanzania Cotton Authority (TCA) 1.8 million shillings and the Sugar Development Corporation (SUDECO) 178.1 million shillings.

This was said by the Deputy Minister for Agriculture, Ndugu L. A. Kasyupa when replying to a question by Ndugu H. N Mfaume (Shinyanga Urban) who wanted to know financial loss suffered by state farms in the country.

Ndugu Mfaume also wanted to know the number of state farms and where they were in the country and whether they were still in existence.

Ndugu Kasyupa said that there were 117 state farms under the Ministry of Agriculture. Those directly under the agricultural parastatal organisations are 112.

NAFCO has 22 state farms, and they are in Mbeya (4), Arusha (9), Morogoro (2), Coast (2), Kilimanjaro (2), Lindi (1), Mtwara (1), and Dar es Salaam (1).

TCA has 11 which are in Morogoro (2), Singida (2), and one in each of the following regions: Mwanza, Arusha, Coast, Tanga, Shinyanga, Kigoma and Kagera.

Tanzania Tea Authority (TTA) has four state farms in Iringa (1), Kagera (2), and one in Tanga Region.

The General Agricultural Produce Export Company (GAPEX) has one farm at Dakawa, Morogoro Region and the Tanzania Sisal Authority (TSA) has 68 estates under three firms at Muheza, Morogoro and Ngombezi. The estates are in Morogoro, Tanga and Kilimanjaro regions, Ndugu Kasyupa said.

The Coffee Authority of Tanzania (CATA) has six state farms in Arusha Region. Plans are underway to open one farm in the southern regions and another one in Kagera Region.

The Sugar Development Corporation (SUDECO) has four sugar estates. Two in Morogoro Region, one in Kilimanjaro Region and another one in Kagera Region, he said.

Ndugu Kasyupa told the House that the government was still studying whether or not coffee estates should be handed over to more capable hands.

KAGERA REGION FORMS BODY TO SUPERVISE VARIOUS ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 11 Jul 83 p 1

[Text]

KAGERA Region has formed a special committee which will supervise and co-ordinate agricultural endeavours, transport and other important economic activities in the region.

The special committee, to be chaired by the Kagera Regional Commissioner, Ndugu Nsa Kaisi, will, among others, look into problems hampering agricultural production, transportation of crops and distribution of essential commodities.

The 16-man committee which started its work over the weekend is presently trying to solve the problem of diesel shortage which has lately led to closure of three factories in the region.

Factories which have had to close down due to shortage of diesel are the Kagera Sugar Factory, Coffee Processing Company (BUKOP) and Tanganyika Instant Coffee (TANICA).

Ndugu Kaisi said the motivated force behind the formation of the special committee was to marshal all efforts in the region for the implementation of various

economic projects.

He said the formation of the committee would do away with the practice which made every department to fend for itself instead of co-ordinating with others.

The special committee which will be meeting once every month has three sub-committees which will preside over the committee's implementation work.

The sub-committees are Leadership, supervision and discipline; production, purchasing and transportation of crops; and the essential services committee.

Other members of the committee have been drawn from the Regional Trading Company, BP, National Bank of Commerce, Regional Development Corporation, National Milling Corporation, Coffee Authority of Tanzania, Tanzania Cotton Authority and Tanzania Tea Authority.

Others are from Tanzania Posts and Telecommunications Corporation, Tanzania Electric Supply Company, Police, Prisons, Security and the Bukoba District Corporation.

CSO: 3400/661

GOVERNMENT SPREADING BAMBOO PIPES TO BOOST WATER SUPPLY

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 11 Jul 83 p 1

[Excerpt]

THE Government has embarked on a full-scale spread of the less expensive wood-bamboo pipe technology in various areas of the country to boost water supply to the people, it was said in the National Assembly last Saturday.

The Deputy Minister for Water and Energy, Ndugu Edgar Maokola-Majogo, said the government took the decision after proving that the cost of bamboo pipes was 20 per cent of the steel pipes project.

The Government also had proved that the cost of the bamboo pipes project cost 37 per cent of plastic one.

The Government had further proved that a bamboo pipe with a 65 millimetre diameter, prepared ready for laying, cost 13/65 per metre. A 50 millimetre diameter plastic pipe is sold at 34/20 per metre, he said.

Ndugu Maokola-Majogo was replying Ndugu L.D. Kitandula (Muheza) who wanted to know whether the Government had positive results in the use of bamboo pipes compared to plastic or steel

pipes.

Ndugu Kitandula also asked why bamboo pipe technology, supposedly less expensive, was not spread to regions with acute water problems, such as Tanga and Muheza districts in particular.

"The government had first to research on the project before putting it into use", the Deputy Minister said.

Ndugu Maokola-Majogo said Tanga Region was suitable for the technology because bamboos are available there. He was referring particularly to the yellow coloured bamboos which he said withstood water pressure.

Magoroto Village in Muheza District has submitted a request for a wood-bamboo project in the village, Ndugu Maokola-Majogo said.

Meanwhile, shooting of a dramatised documentary feature film on the bamboo project which began in April, this year, has been completed and the premiere show is expected to be held before the end of the year.

CSO: 3400/661

MINISTER PLEDGES MBEYA-SUMBAWANGA ROAD COMPLETION

Dar es Salaam SUNDAY NEWS in English 10 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by Mike Sikawa]

[Text] THE MINISTER of Works, Ndugu Guntram Itatiro, has pledged that the Mbeya-Sumbawanga road is going to be completed and that his ministry is now looking for 24 million/- needed for the completion of the project.

Ndugu Itatiro was responding to a debate in the National Assembly yesterday over the estimates of the Ministry of Works.

The debate was spearheaded by the Sumbawanga Urban MP, Ndugu T. Kinyonto, who said he was withholding a shilling from the ministry's estimates unless he was assured that the Sumbawanga-Mbeya road was going to be built.

The MP said the minister must also assure him that the tar which has already been sent to Sumbawanga for the project would not be shifted to another project in another region. He demanded that the ministry should now send equipment for the construction of the road.

Three other MPs, Ndugu P. Newila (Mbeya Rural) I. Kaboboye, (Kigoma, National) and Ayub Kimbau (Mafia) joined the debate supporting the Sumbawanga Urban MP and saying the minister must assure the MP that the road would be built.

Tabora Urban MP, Rev. Paulo Misigalo said the removal of the tar would mark the end of the project, and supported Ndugu

Kinyonto's demand that equipment should now be sent for the construction of the road.

He criticised the minister for his statement that MPs were "instigating" the people, saying that the day when MPs did that, "fire would erupt in this country."

The minister then heeded the MP's demand, and noted that the ministry was looking for equipment for the road. He denied having said that the ministry would re-allocate the tar for another project outside the region.

Mafia MP Lt. Col. Ayub Kimbau criticised the ministry for negligence which had resulted in the delay of the construction of Mafia Airport. He said for eight months, equipment was lying idle at the site. Employees of the ministry were also idle and getting salaries for doing nothing.

He demanded that the ministry send an expert to scrutinise the situation and report to the house by next week. The speaker, Ndugu

Adam Sapi over-ruled the MP Ndugu Kimbau however noted that he hoped that the minister "got my message."

After a further debate, the House approved the ministry's estimates, amounting to 993,644,900/-.

Earlier, winding up the debate, Ndugu Itatiro said the ministry would do all in its ability to complete the southern road, saying financial constraints were the main cause for the delay. He said the project was being undertaken in phases because of the costs involved.

He also said there were plans for repairing the Dar es Salaam-Tunduma road, and negotiations were going on with the World Bank. He also promised that the ministry would make all efforts to ensure that the Rukwa regional roads were improved.

Ndugu Itatiro said spares impounded during the crack-down against economic sabotage were being scrutinised by a special committee before they were distributed accordingly.

TANZANIA

BRIEFS

REFINED FUEL CONSIGNMENT ARRIVES--THE Minister for Water and Energy, Ndugu Al-Noor Kassum, yesterday confirmed that a tanker carrying consignments of refined fuel anchored at the Dar es Salaam port on Friday night and would start discharging its load today. Mid last week, the Prime Minister, Ndugu Edward Sokoine, told newsmen in Dar es Salaam that a tanker carrying refined fuel, kerosine, diesel and aircraft fuel was expected to arrive in Dar es Salaam at the weekend. The Prime Minister, who disclosed the government's decision to confine fuel, especially diesel to institutions involved in hauling food and cash crops, called on the people to refrain from making unnecessary trips, hence assist in saving fuel for important undertaking. [Text]
[Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 11 Jul 83 p 1]

CSO: 3400/661

PRIME MINISTER ROBERT MUGABE INTERVIEWED BY CUBAN JOURNALIST

Havana PRISMA LATINOAMERICANO in Spanish Jun 83 pp 14-17

[Interview with Prime Minister Robert Mugabe by special correspondent Miguel Rivero at Milton House; date not specified]

[Text] Harare--When I arrived in Zimbabwe for the first time at the beginning of 1981, just a few months after independence, Robert Mugabe's government had received the majority in Parliament and many of the former guerrillas had obtained cabinet posts. But at the airport itself, I had the impression that the power of Ian Smith's former regime was floating in the atmosphere.

On that occasion, the white immigration official took my Cuban passport and, despite the fact that it was in order and the visa had been granted in Maputo, he held me there for nearly an hour, while other whites, brazenly and in a rather provocative manner, engaged in taking photos from all angles; and, of course they were not for any family album.

That time, I held a lengthy interview with Prime Minister Robert Mugabe (PRISMA No 114 of February 1982), and one of the main points brought up by the Zimbabwe leader was the need for forming and strengthening the Army and gradually taking over the administrative command.

I had the impression that Mugabe was aware that he had reached the government, but that all the devices of power were not yet in his hands.

Upon returning to the capital of Zimbabwe, nearly 3 years later, I found not only that it no longer had the name Salisbury, but also that its name had been changed to the former, traditional Harare.

At the same airport, I had a sense of the changes which had taken place. This time, old friends were waiting for me on the runway, next to the stairway. A black immigration official took my passport and, in just a few seconds, returned it with a smile.

But, on the other hand, it is true that the transformation process in Zimbabwe has not yet been completed, and that is analyzed by Mugabe in this second interview which we offer to PRISMA's readers.

Zimbabwe, just a few steps from South Africa, represents to the Pretoria racists the unforgivable example of the maintenance in power of a government with a black majority, which overtly proclaims that it is preparing to transform the country.

We talked about the problems of the economy, the contradictions between the ZAPU and ZANU parties, the prospective plans, the international situation and many other topics with Mugabe, in his plain, often empty office at Milton House (Mugabe travels constantly throughout the length and breadth of the country).

We proposed to him a review of Zimbabwe's problems, often greatly distorted by the major news media, which dramatize a great deal concerning the "insecurity" (some even talk about "civil war"), of course not making any mention of the efforts being expended to make Zimbabwe's independence not merely formal, but real.

In language wherein passion and analysis are blended, Robert Mugabe discusses his country and the international situation as follows:

Toward a True Democracy

PRISMA: Three years after independence, what assessment can be made of the transformations in Zimbabwe?

Robert Mugabe: They have been 3 years of appreciable transformations, both in the social and economic area, and the political as well as the military area. It is the result of a movement which arose during the colonial period to reach a true democracy, in the exact sense of the term, based on respect for the desires of the majority.

We have striven to consolidate our independence in various directions, establishing government instruments that will serve the people's ideals and, hence, democracy.

As you know, we have a government composed basically of elements from ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union). But also participating are representatives of ZAPU (Zimbabwe African People's Union), and three members of the white community, two as ministers and one as a vice minister. It is a cabinet based on the principle of maintaining national unity in the country and also on the spirit of national reconciliation.

This is the greatest effort that we are making, in an attempt to unite the entire population. But we must be candid: total national unity has not yet been achieved; however, we do believe that the majority of the people are united. Nevertheless, on occasion we have had to take firm action against some members of ZAPU, because we have discovered them engaged in counterrevolutionary activities.

Discoveries have been made of storage of arms, and some of these elements had been involved in conspiracies against the government. This has caused a certain amount of tension between the two parties, but it has not become complete animosity. We have been careful about this point, and have attempted to eliminate the sources of this tension. In particular, we have had to adopt measures against elements from ZIPRA (Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army), that had been fostering problems among members of the Armed Forces.

We do not exonerate the ZAPU leaders entirely for these activities on the part of certain dissident elements attempting to destabilize our country. But we know how to make a distinction, and we realize that the whole ZAPU party leadership is not implicated therein. That is our position. It proves that we have not acted arbitrarily and that we are continuing to work on behalf of unity.

I can also tell you that we have set up a committee consisting of three ZAPU representatives and three from ZANU, all members of the central committees of both parties, in an attempt to discuss all the problems and contradictions. I hope that the discussions will take place in an objective, cordial and friendly manner, and that the committee will issue its recommendations.

Provocation from South Africa

But there is one aspect of the situation in the region conspiring against the consolidation of our independence. I am referring to the position of the South African regime. It has infiltrated several groups into our country, but the goal is even more ambitious: to provoke destabilization in the entire region. Zimbabwe is not the only country to suffer from this type of activity by the South Africans. There are also other countries, such as Angola, which are suffering even more directly from Pretoria's aggression.

In the military realm, we have combined the guerrilla forces of ZANU and ZIPRA, and the former Rhodesian forces, which now comprise the National Army.

It is a good idea to remind some people, when they talk about the dissident elements in ZIPRA, that the vast majority of ZAPU's guerrilla forces have remained in the ranks of our National Army. If we reckon that there are about 1,500 elements opposed to the present government, for example, it must also be said that 14,000 have remained faithfully serving the national interests; so the number of dissidents turns out to be rather insignificant.

[Question] All right; and how has this process manifested itself in the social and economic areas?

RM: In the social and economic realm, we must consider the fact that the achievements in the political realm do not suffice to accomplish changes from a colonial system to true independence. Other readjustments must be undertaken, so that the country's economic and natural resources will move from the hands of the former masters to the hands of the people of Zimbabwe.

And we must do this, not on the same bases as those of the capitalist system that existed previously, but rather in a process of socializing ownership of the basic resources. This is the second great battle that we must wage in the economic area. Frankly, this process is only starting now, because we could not simultaneously wage battles on different fronts, in the political area, in the reorganization of the Army and in the economy as well.

The country's Constitution and the political transformations that have taken place have given the people the necessary tools with which to make changes in the social and economic realms. This is the point at which we find ourselves.

We have already made public a 3-year plan for carrying out the social and economic changes that Zimbabwe needs during this transition period.

This 3-year plan includes a certain degree of socialization in the economy. We admit that it would be impossible to achieve this process in all areas simultaneously, over such a short period of time. But we have already made great progress in the areas of primary education, which is free of charge, and public health.

In agriculture, we are now establishing a system of cooperatives in various rural sections of the country. It is a kind of communal work system, but one wherein the peasants retain ownership of their livestock and poultry. It is a movement that we are promoting, and it is our intention that, every day, more and more peasants will join in this process, which will contribute to the socialization of agriculture, and that the peasants will acquire an awareness of working and striving on behalf of national goals.

It is our view that the land must belong to those who work on it. Our plan is to acquire the land, so as to distribute it to the peasants. For this purpose, the funds that are to be made available by the countries which fostered the Lancaster House agreements (Great Britain, the United States and others) will be used. We cannot create taxes in order to be able to purchase that land. The United Kingdom has promised to make those funds available, so as to pay for the purchase of that land which is in the hands of British descendants. The funds made available to this end have not been sufficient. We need more funds, or we must seek some other methods for achieving the resettlement of our great mass of peasants.

The Peasant Resettlement

It is our intention to succeed in resettling some 162,000 peasant families over the next 3 years, following a systematic plan. We shall use three types of systems for land distribution: cooperatives, commercial farms and individual distribution.

But it will not be merely a process of resettlement or land distribution; rather, we shall supply equipment, fertilizer and seed for agricultural development. But, at the same time, this formation of cooperatives creates the need for founding schools and dispensaries, and for providing water and other services. The combination of all these elements is what we term real resettlement of our peasant masses, who were formerly dispossessed of all benefits. To be sure, we are quite well aware that all this will take time.

The 3-year plan calls for changes in industry, commerce, mining and the private sector of agriculture. In these sectors, primarily in the hands of capitalists, we must first develop the consciousness and organization of the laborers and workers. For this reason, we have set up the workers' committees, in order to organize them so that they may realize the role that they must play in the new society, to create unity among them, and to make them understand what their function must be in each enterprise in particular.

We are in the process of bolstering the labor union movement throughout the length and breadth of the country. This is the social base that we shall be able to have later, with a view to its participation in the administration of enterprises and industries.

It is our hope that, when we have the workers properly trained, with an awareness of the role that they must play, we can then take into our hands the country's leading industries and enterprises. Of course, we realize that we are traversing a long, difficult path, before we can attain this goal. But we are already taking the steps to give the labor union committees a certain amount of participation in the administration of certain industries.

At the same time, we are taking steps to establish state enterprises. There are various means or methods for doing so. We can set up a new enterprise, or a new mine operation center, or a new commercial center, or we can use the expedient of nationalizing the enterprises or industries which exist at present. We have already nationalized two enterprises.

In other cases, we have acquired the majority of the shares of stock, as we did with the leading newspapers and when we created the Bank of Zimbabwe (Zimbank). We are currently taking steps to put the country's largest pharmaceutical products industry under state control.

We shall continue this same process in the leading mining enterprises, especially those working with strategic ores. We shall acquire the shares of stock held by British and North American interests, and convert them into state enterprises. We realize that this is a long, difficult process.

At the time of independence, we thought that we could transform everything quickly. But, upon taking the reins of government, we found out that this involves a long, difficult, complicated process. Even if we had the capital necessary for purchasing the shares of stock of the leading enterprises, we would not have the skilled labor or the technology for operating them fully.

This is why we are happy to note that there are friendly countries willing to aid us by sending technicians or training skilled personnel for the transformation of our country.

View of the Western Press

[Question] The Western press constantly claims that an atmosphere of insecurity prevails in the country, that violations of human rights are occurring...

RM: You know very well the way in which the imperialists operate with the mass media. It is true that there have been confrontations with certain negative elements in one section of the Matabeleland region, that of Cholocho, and in other neighboring localities where our Army's Fifth Brigade has had to take action, together with the police forces, to guarantee security and to rid the area of those who had been creating an atmosphere of insecurity with attacks and kidnappings of tourists.

Furthermore, in this section we have been faced with a heavy drought, and certain elements have engaged in looting; and hence we had to adopt forceful measures. It was necessary to take action against these groups and to impose a curfew in that region, so as thereby to guarantee security for the population.

We think that certain elements from ZIPRA which obtained backing from particular sectors of the population have been involved in it. We had to make some arrests, but we also had a process of assemblies and rallies to explain our government's policy clearly. The charges that we are violating human rights have been echoed in the Western press; but we are actually striving and working to establish human rights and against banditry and blackmail.

The imperialists are the ones least fit to talk about human rights. One need only look at what is happening in certain countries, such as El Salvador, or Great Britain and the United States, where there is total discrimination against blacks, or at the British occupation of Northern Ireland. They do not discuss these violations of human rights, and their mass media accuse us of human rights violations.

If we take any action to correct a situation and to guarantee the population's lives and property, they accuse us of violating human rights.

Ah, but if you have to adopt a legal measure and arrest a white, then the news media in Great Britain start up a tremendous campaign against us. This is the reason for all the uproar that they created about the situation in Matabeleland.

The source of it all was the fact that we had to arrest some British individuals who were supposed to be advising us on the Air Force, but who were actually collaborating in the sabotage that destroyed a large portion of our combat planes.

[Question] To what extent is South Africa involved in all this destabilization action against Zimbabwe?

RM: I can assure you that South Africa is deeply involved and implicated in all this action and sabotage that has occurred in recent months.

Now we know that some elements from ZIPRA have come in contact with South Africa. We are following this situation. But it must also be said that, from the outset, South Africa recruited hundreds of former members of the Rhodesian Armed Forces, and it has trained them and has them ready to use as a tool for threatening the security of Zimbabwe, for engaging in sabotage and for destroying bridges and communications routes. They are working against us in that particular way, different from the method they are using against Mozambique, where they have already infiltrated a veritable army of bandits, or against Angola, where, in addition to using UNITA, they are occupying part of that country's territory, in Cunene Province.

They are also attempting to prevent us from using the rail system and highways that connect our country with Mozambique, whereby we receive the products and fuel that we need; in other words, they are attempting to prevent our economic cooperation, with the obvious intention of causing dissatisfaction among our population.

Role of SADCC

[Question] In other words, there is an obvious intention aimed at preventing, at all costs, the integration being promoted by SADCC (Southern African Development Coordination Conference).

RM: Precisely. That is a feature of the South African strategy. They have the theory of the constellation of states. South Africa is the principal planet around which other stars, which are the neighboring states, revolve.

They want to see us united with that constellation. But we have our own views, and we do not want to find ourselves associated with a regime that denies the people of South Africa the most fundamental rights, and where there is no type of democracy.

It is our goal to try to isolate South Africa, and this is why we have that association with the other neighboring states in the region. This is why we have created SADCC, which South Africa is attempting to destroy, by sabotaging our economies and communications facilities, and fostering instability in all the neighboring countries. Lesotho has been one of the latest victims. They have even occasionally sent some kind of order against Swaziland or Botswana, to persecute the sympathizers of the African National Congress (ANC).

They are trying to break up the cooperation among the members of SADCC, because it would strengthen our economic independence to an increasing extent.

[Question] Now, to discuss some international issues: how do you assess the role of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries in the current international situation? What do you think of the role played by President Fidel Castro during the period when he was head of the Movement?

RM: We think that the Movement of Nonaligned Countries is playing a vitally important role in the international arena. When ZANU was a liberation movement, we even regularly attended the meetings of the nonaligned group.

The New Delhi summit was held at a very crucial time. The international situation has been deteriorating daily, owing to the lack of a genuine atmosphere of peace and the regional conflicts.

We have been pleased to note that the new Soviet leader, Yuriy Andropov, has submitted new proposals to the United States for creating a better atmosphere of peace in the world. The Movement of Nonaligned Countries must work hard for the attainment of genuine agreements on disarmament and control of nuclear weapons, and for the creation of conditions marked by greater friendship and understanding among the nations, regardless of ideological differences.

The Movement of Nonaligned Countries must also strive to complete the decolonization process in Africa. The problem of Namibia and the South African liberation process still remains to be solved. But it is also necessary to strive to help the liberation movements which, as in the case of El Salvador, are faced with dictatorial regimes backed by the United States.

If we turn our gaze to the Middle East, there we find Israel acting as a destabilizing element against the Arab neighbors, in this instance also backed by the NATO countries and the United States.

The Movement of Nonaligned Countries must also cope with vital problems in the world economy. At the present time, the role of the International Monetary Fund

and that of other financial institutions, such as the World Bank, is proving to be totally unsatisfactory for the developing countries.

Zimbabwe is a member of the IMF, and we hope that this agency will view the economic problems of the developing countries objectively, and not through a capitalist stereoscope, attempting to impose their terms and pressuring to dissociate our countries from the socialist options. That is what these financial institutions are seeking, and they are trying to impose it on our African countries, something that is completely unjust and unacceptable.

With reference to the period during which the Movement was under the leadership of my friend, Fidel Castro, we are totally satisfied with the active, swift way in which he managed to deal with all the heated problems: in the Middle East, in the conflict between Iraq and Iran, and also the issues relating to Namibia, the southern cone of Africa or Latin America.

It was a difficult period, but Fidel Castro managed to lead the Movement of Non-aligned Countries, and also to strengthen and unify the ranks of our organization.

The Independence of Namibia

[Question] The term "linkage" has become fashionable in referring to that between the independence of Namibia and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. What is your government's position in this matter?

RM: My government's position regarding this matter is very clearcut and precise. We describe it plainly as blackmail. The United States and South Africa are actually taking the people of Namibia as hostages. It is a kind of abduction. They state that if the Cuban troops do not leave Angola, independence cannot be granted to Namibia.

We cannot accept that. It is something immoral and unjustifiable, which has nothing in common with international laws. Who has given the United States and South Africa the right to put forth this type of demand?

If the United States has some problem with Cuba and is displeased with Cuban foreign policy, what it must do is discuss these problems with the government headed by Fidel Castro.

But to state that the people of Namibia cannot be free and independent unless the Cuban troops leave Angola is too much. The key and main problem in this part of the world is the occupation of Cunene Province by South African troops. And it is something else. It is an act of overt aggression against a neighboring country, something totally unacceptable.

The problem that really must be solved is this. The South African troops must withdraw from Namibia and from the southern part of Angola.

The Angolan Government asked for backing from the Cuban people, who behaved in a magnanimous and generous way, providing military assistance to drive back the attack

on the part of the South Africans and to consolidate its independence. We have not observed the Cubans acting badly anywhere. On the contrary, insofar as the government of Zimbabwe is concerned, we are thankful that the Cubans have rendered that assistance to Angola.

[Question] Some prophets of doom are predicting the disappearance or splitting up of the Organization of African Unity (OAU)...

RM: That prediction is absurd. We are actually striving to reinforce OAU. The next meeting will take place in Addis Ababa. The ones absent from Tripoli were a minority of states comprising the group of those which never had any great impact on the most important and vital issues during the decolonization period. Egypt contributed to the liberation process, but that was under the leadership of Gamal Abdel Nasser.

Our independence, that of Angola or that of Mozambique received assistance chiefly from some Front Line governments, or from states such as Algeria, Ethiopia, Libya or Nigeria. This, combined with the aid from the Front Line countries, comprises what we might term the most substantial assistance that we received from the African continent. The progressive forces on the continent have actually become strengthened.

In a final analysis, it is possible that those subordinated to the dictates of the imperialists will continue along the same path. But those of us who want Africa to continue along the path of struggle will persist in our efforts, to achieve the cohesion and unity of our peoples. I think that this minority is unwilling to leave OAU, and that it will remain in the organization.

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